

GROUP REPRESENTATION BEFORE CONGRESS

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1928

BY

E. PENDLETON HERRING

(Reprinted from Institute for Government Research, Studies in
Administration. Identical title and pagination)

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*TO THE MEMORY OF
MY FATHER*

Lobbying, as defined and understood in this act, shall consist of any effort to influence the action of Congress upon any matter coming before it, whether it be by distributing literature, appearing before committees of Congress, or interviewing or seeking to interview individual Members of either the House of Representatives or the Senate.

S. 1095

Organizations, societies, leagues, unions, spring up all around us, and become centers of political power, influencing policies and affecting the selection of official personnel. These groups did not exist on the same scale a generation ago, but now they rival the party and the "machine" at many points.

CHARLES E. MERRIAM

Every modern country . . . is a mass of groups. We have associations, federations of associations, trade unions, federations of trade unions, financial companies, industrial companies, mining companies, insurance companies, public contractors. Each constitutes a social group with its own law of life. The theory of the modern state is therefore compelled to adapt itself to the existence of these powerful groups. It must determine a method of their coördination. It must settle their relations with the government that exercises public power.

It is the gravest of problems.

LÉON DUGUIT

PREFACE

To draw a picture is the chief purpose of this book. In this exposition of the national associations and societies that come to Washington and attempt to influence the government, the methods are depicted of that institution known as the "lobby." But this study is more than a study of the lobby. The writer believes that the activities of organized associations of citizens appearing before Congress in the interest of their group is but one manifestation of a movement which reached back to the very foundations of the social structure. Some students see in these associations signs of a "restructuralization" in human relations. The movement is at least indicative of a growing realization on the part of groups of their potentialities, and of the technique to be employed in making known their needs and accomplishing their desires. A horizontal stratification of society thus appears in which social, economic, religious, and functional groups command the support of the individual. Groups, active, coherent, organic, are rising to a place of increased importance in the community. The full significance of such a movement must be left to the political theorist and the philosopher.

This study strives to examine these groups of organized citizens at their point of contact with the federal government. It is the strategic point, for it is here that the group seeks to gain the sanction of law. Here the lobbies and Congress meet.

As to the word "lobby," certain difficulties present themselves. The word has unfortunate connotations, yet there is no synonym for it so apt or so generally understood. The word is universally accepted, and to dislodge it appears impossible. Under the circumstances it seems best to accept the term, remembering at the same time that it is by no means a word of opprobrium. There are all kinds of lobbyists, both corrupt and incorruptible. But influencing legislation by unofficial means is a process little understood—and hence distrusted. The term "lobby" is here used in no invidious sense, but simply as a designation to indicate those who attempt to influence the course of legislation in an unofficial and non-governmental capacity.

In describing the national associations representing so many points of view the author has attempted to preserve a detached and impartial attitude. There has been no effort to make this an exhaustive study, but the endeavor has been to present the general situation as it is to-day. As this is one of the first books in this particular field, the attempt has rather been to paint a full picture in broad strokes and to leave detailed examination of certain phases for later development. The interest of the author toward the national associations described has been to discuss their relations to the formal government at Washington. From this point of view the picture has been sketched in some detail and typical organizations selected as illustrative of the activities of the remainder.

In the research requisite for assembling the data contained in this study slight recourse could be made to books or secondary sources. Accordingly, it was by personal interview and by the collection of the publications of the various organizations described that the writer secured the data upon which to base this study. More than one hundred associations were approached, either through calling upon their officers, by telephoning, or by correspondence. Scores of interviews were held with men and women in Washington familiar with the situation dealt with in this book. Among those of especial aid were the Washington correspondents of leading newspapers, prominent Senators and Representatives, and the more experienced and important of the lobbyists themselves. To the many persons approached by the writer who gave so generously of their time and thought, grateful acknowledgment is made. This study could not possibly have been carried forward except for their aid. The footnotes do not indicate the number of those interviewed by the author, for in many cases the wish was expressed that their words be considered confidential. Where possible the writer has always referred to a written source rather than to so vague an authority as an interview. However, practically every statement in the book has been confirmed and re-confirmed by persons in Washington directly cognizant of the subject under discussion. Where so many gave unstintingly of their time and advice, it is impossible to name all and difficult to select a few for grateful mention.

The writer feels that he is especially indebted to Mr. Fred DeWitt Shelton of the National Chamber of Commerce, to Mr. Chester Gray of the Farm Bureau Federation, to Mrs. Walker of the D. A. R., to Mrs. Alice Gram Robinson of the Congressional Digest, to Miss Gladys Harrison of the National League of Women Voters, to Mr. Harry Slattery, to Mr. Basil Manly, to Senator Bruce, to Mr. Frank R. Kent of the *Baltimore Sun* and to Mr. Arthur Sears Henning of the *Chicago Tribune*.

This study was originally undertaken as a doctoral thesis and was accepted as such by the department of political science of the Johns Hopkins University. Certain additions and various alterations have been made, however, in the original text and the study now stands revised and enlarged.

The author is indebted to Professor W. Y. Elliott of Harvard University, who gave the entire manuscript a careful reading and offered numerous valuable suggestions.

The writer first approached Professor W. W. Willoughby of the Johns Hopkins University and Mr. W. F. Willoughby, Director of the Institute for Government Research, with the idea which is developed in this book. It was due to their encouragement that this study was undertaken. To Professor W. W. Willoughby, for his kindly criticism and stimulating comment the author expresses his deepest appreciation. To Mr. W. F. Willoughby, the writer is indebted for guidance and counsel from the very beginning of this study. During the summer of 1927, while compiling the necessary data in Washington, the writer frequently availed himself of the advice of the Director of the Institute for Government Research. Several chapters were included upon the suggestion of Mr. Willoughby and the entire thesis was developed under his general direction.

E. PENDLETON HERRING

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND,
July, 1928.

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GROUP REPRESENTATION BEFORE CONGRESS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Politics are dynamic. As political, social, and industrial conditions change, as new economic and moral ideas arise and take form, the rigid framework of government is either altered to fit the time or superseded. Especially sensitive to external changes is a popular form of government. It is continuously acted upon by popular feeling. At the very basis of orthodox democratic dogma lies the concept of rule by public opinion. It is in this force that the ultimate sanction for all the acts of the state inheres. It matters not if this general opinion be a "congeries of all sorts of discrepant notions, beliefs, fancies, prejudices, and aspirations."¹ The fact remains that "we have enthroned public opinion."² As popular feeling veers and changes, as the commercial and social life of the people evolves and develops, so the institutions of government are transformed.

It is the object of this study to describe and discuss one of the most recent developments in the national representative system of this country. The phenomenon to be treated is an emergent and a potentially powerful medium for the highly effective expression of opinion on the part of various elements within the body politic. In a popular government where public opinion is of such great significance, the development of new agencies of importance in the marshalling of the sentiment of the citizenry is worthy of examination. The popular will has found two mediums in this country and in most other democracies by means of which public opinion may exert direct influence upon governmental processes. On the one hand there is the formal framework of government with constitu-

¹ James Bryce, *Modern democracies*, I, 153.

² Woodrow Wilson, in *Political Science Quarterly* of June, 1887. Quoted by William Dodd in "Woodrow Wilson, his life and work," 31.

tion, legislative assemblies, and elective officers; while on the other there is the extra-legal system of political parties. Early in the history of the country parties arose and came to supplement the representative apparatus of government as established by legal enactment. Entirely unprovided for in the Constitution, the political party nevertheless has become of vast importance in the administration³ of the government. Political evolution does not await the formal action of legislatures, nor is it bound by statutory codes and written constitutions. A popular government is as fluid as the life of the people.⁴

The phenomena with which this study is concerned have arisen to a place of importance within comparatively recent years, but in their influence upon public opinion they exert a force comparable to the agencies long established to carry out the will of the people. Their connection with the individual citizen is more immediate than that of the legislature or even of the political party. Parties have a definite and strategic position in the functioning of the governmental machine, but their position as a prompter of policy and opinion is becoming of less and less significance. The citizen must look elsewhere. It is then that he encounters these new agencies for the expression of opinion and for the protection of specific interests.

The New Problem of Representation. To-day when the voter becomes fired with an overpowering conviction as to the truth or falsity of a particular matter of political, social, or economic importance, he does not immediately look to the party as the vehicle to give support and expression to his doctrine. He finds about him numerous organized groups built around certain definite interests. It is to them that he turns for support and coöperation, and it is a rare point of view, indeed, that does not find among them some society or national association that is not already sponsoring whatever the most fertile mind of man can conceive. There have always been organized groups, fraternal, religious, social, and economic. There have appeared from time to time in the history of the country various minority political parties, such as the Populists,

³ Frank J. Goodnow, *Politics and administration*.

⁴ Woodrow Wilson, *Constitutional government in the United States*, 14, *passim*.

the Greenbackers, and the Know-Nothings, which have arisen in advocacy of some specific principles or some narrow program.⁸

The organized groups to which the voter turns to-day partake of the characteristics of both the typical "society" and the minority party. They resemble the former in that they have a listed membership, duly elected officers, dues to pay, meetings to attend, and a continuous existence. They resemble the latter in that they have a direct interest in certain phases of politics, a policy toward the government, and often a definite program to be obtained at the hands of the legislators. In their support of a particular policy and point of view they act in the capacity of a representative agency toward the government. Their whole *raison d'être* is predicated upon a principle, either altruistic or selfish, and success means nothing unless it is the success of this interest. Examples of such organizations are known to everyone: The Anti-Saloon League, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the W. C. T. U., the National Grange, and the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association are among the more familiar.

Within very recent years these groups have increased and multiplied. More important still, they have become highly organized and are to-day conducted by shrewd and capable leaders. Now because of improved means of communication, these groups, no longer hindered by geographic limitations, are organizing on a national and even world-wide scale. They are assuming a place of first importance in the expression of public sentiment. They represent compact and determined groups who know what they want and how they want it. In their methods, in their numbers, and in their influence they are becoming a problem in representative government. They constitute a development which should be considered in the light of the accepted theory of representation. These organized groups approach the individual from an angle that is at variance with the viewpoint accepted by current theory. The attitude of the party toward the voter is in harmony with orthodox ideas of representation: the political party treats him as a citizen with a national point of view.

Group Representation in the Past. It is not to be forgotten, however, that the medieval conception of representation was based

⁸ Fred E. Haynes, Third party movements.

upon the class, the estate to which the individual belonged. Deputies from each class assembled in parliaments, not as representatives of the nation as a whole, but rather as the delegates from a particular class. They were not concerned with the general weal, but with the immediate interests of their group. Society in the Middle Ages was organized upon a distinct differentiation into various classes and groups, and it was these estates that served as the basis of the representation system. Sovereignty was divided between contending rulers and bodies: the church, the feudal lord, the clan, and the guild. The allegiance of the individual was torn between several conflicting authorities. One group would control the individual in some matters; another association would determine his action in another. Then delegates from various of these groups would bicker and contend in a general parliament "little concerned about the advantages of the other parties or general justice and universal fairness."⁶ At one time, then, the idea of group autonomy and class representation prevailed in a degree. There are those to-day who advocate a return to this idea. But, it has been pointed out, "we cannot argue from the position in the medieval state to the position of groups in the modern, just because the medieval state was so different from the modern."⁷ With the rise of the group within the body politic to a place of new importance it is interesting to recall that guild, class, and estate were once the foundation stones of social and political organization. Now they are relegated to a secondary place by conservative political opinion.

The Organized Group in Its Relation to the Theory of Representation. Democratic dogma postulates that the citizenry put thought of the national welfare before that of the individual. The general presence of this attitude constitutes a well disposed public sentiment.⁸ The citizens are supposed to take a broad view of national affairs. This makes up the "public opinion" that is to rule the country. Apparently the tendency of associations and leagues of citizens formed for the accomplishment of their own particular purposes ignores the theory that the general good should be the consideration of the citizen before that of any one group.

⁶ Francis Lieber, *Political ethics*, II, 317.

⁷ Ernest Barker, *Some great political thinkers*, 28.

⁸ Arnold B. Hall, *Popular government*, 3, *et passim*.

This theory of the general welfare, however, fails to take into account the circumstances and conditions under which people actually live.⁹ Geographic divisions represent voters adequately if they are considered simply as population capable of being arbitrarily divided into arithmetical areas. It fails to consider that men live their lives not as citizens of a state or voters in a congressional district, but as members of various business, social, fraternal, and economic units.¹⁰ It is in these units that their chief interests lie, not in wards and precincts. The relationship to government is at best vague and rarely examined. There is the post office, the traffic court, the tax bill, talk of elections, and voting at intervals, but the vital interests of the people are not with these concerns. They are asked at certain seasons of the year to cease being doctors or grocers or pacifists¹¹ and become simply citizens and voters. Many find this difficult to do, others neglect entirely to make the attempt. The low percentage of the voters going to the polls illustrates this clearly. The allegiance of a man or woman is not first to his locality or his politics, but rather to his class and his occupation together with the interests growing therefrom.

His interests are narrowed of necessity. In this complex world, in which only the expert can move confidently, and that only within the confines of his own particular field, the simple man, the voter, is confronted and confounded by a multitude of problems the difficulty of some of which he does not suspect, the solution of most of which he has no idea, the method of treating which he has no guide, and the means for acquiring knowledge of which he has neither the time nor ability to ascertain. To-day, the ideal citizen, attempting to keep properly informed and ready to pass intelligently on all public matters of moment, would die of brain storm and nervous indigestion superinduced by too rich a diet of current events.

From Individual to Group. In the welter of this modern age, so highly industrialized and with business relations and social contacts so minutely subdivided and specialized, the individual, as such, is of slight importance. He is no longer the smallest unit of the greatest significance. He has become a mere cipher in a larger

⁹ Walter Lippmann, *Phantom public*, Ch. I, II.

¹⁰ G. D. H. Cole, *Guild socialism restated*.

¹¹ William McDonald, *A new constitution for a new America*, 129.

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and emergent unit: the organized group.¹² The group may be defined as a number of individuals bound together in a common cause or united by similar interests into an articulate unit. The individual, *per se*, finds himself lost and defenseless. Only a handful can survive and force recognition by the strength of their own personalities. Alone, man is overwhelmed by his environment.

He does not find himself alone, however. He lives his daily life as a member of a social group of one sort or another. He may be a butcher, a baker, or a candlestick maker; a doctor, lawyer, or merchant. As such he is a member of a group with fairly well-defined aims. It is here that his principal interests center. Herein he gains his livelihood. It is from this point that his other contacts are usually made, determined in large measure by his economic status. He identifies himself with other groups as his social, religious, political, and artistic opinions and feelings may lead him. Regularly organized societies, leagues, and associations stand ready to urge his opinions. There is the American Bankers' Association or the Hodcarriers' Union or one of a thousand other organizations to represent his vocation. There is the Juvenile Protective Association and the Child Labor Amendment Association if he thinks children should receive more attention. There is the National Association for Constitutional Government and the Sentinels of the Republic if he fears the Bolsheviks. There is the Navy League if he thinks our coasts need greater protection, or the National Society for Humane Regulation of Vivisection if he thinks the dogs need it. His every interest may be represented.

To indicate the extent to which this organization into groups has gone is to verge upon the fantastic. Every newspaper reader is familiar with the fact that even the hoboes of the country have a "national association" in name at least. Accounts are given of annual meetings¹³ and the president has frequently been inter-

¹² Dr. Charles W. Eliot, for one, in "The Conflict between Individualism and Collectivism in a Democracy," p. 129, testifies to "the changes in the past few decades that have made for the supplantation of individualism for collectivism in large measure in industry, in education, and in government. Men are more interdependent, and man's position is of less significance." See also: "Faith of a Liberal"; "Address on the Changing Foundations of Government," delivered December 10, 1921, by Nicholas Murray Butler, pp. 73, 74.

¹³ International Brotherhood Association. *New York Times*, August 21, 1927.

viewed by the press. Absurd as this instance may seem, a slight basis of economic self-interest may possibly serve to explain its existence. But what is one to believe of the National Circus Fans Association? Three annual conventions have already been held; two hundred local societies, called "white tops," are scattered over the country; and a substantial membership is enrolled. Its organizers explain that their boyhood memory of circus joys is yet so strong that they are determined in their manhood to protect the traveling shows from unfriendly legislation and unsympathetic public officers.¹⁴ If such flimsy sentimentality is sufficient to bind men together, what more need be said of the strength of the social, the fraternal, the patriotic, and the economic bonds that unite individuals into groups?

Every person is played upon by an immense number of influences. He is the target of propagandists, economic, political, religious, and various, but the stimuli to which he responds are determined by the groups with which he has become allied. To the others he turns a deaf ear. The much described indifference of the voter is largely explained by the infinite variety of interests impinging on the citizen and the limitations of human nature to consider more than one thing at a time. His interests have become narrowed; they have not vanished. Indifference is the defensive shield against distraction.¹⁵ Yet the individual is inevitably affected by some proselyting groups, even if unconsciously. Toward others he places himself on the offensive and allies himself with an opposing group. These in turn open a barrage of propaganda.

Man has, to be sure, always sought to advance his cause by alliance with like-minded fellows, but the group to-day has assumed a dominant place. The emphasis has shifted from the individual. The voice harkened to by legislators is not the lone voice of a citizen crying in a wilderness of individual opinions, but the chorus of a cause organized for a purpose and directed by a press agent. This complex society has put the individual in the chorus and instructed him to watch the leader. The shift has been from individuals with ideas over to choruses with themes to harp upon.

¹⁴ *New York Times*, April 10, 1927.

¹⁵ On indifference of the voter, see: Charles E. Merriam, *New politics*, 1; W. K. Wallace, *Passing of politics*; and E. C. Lindeman, *Social discovery*.

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A hundred years ago democratic theories were individualistic. They treated the state as a sum of equal and independent units. Now we have learned that man is a social being, not only in Aristotle's sense that he is constrained by his nature to be a member of a state, but also in the broader sense that he is bound by subtle ties to other and smaller groups of persons within the state. We have learned to recognize this; and what is more, with the case of organization fostered by modern conditions, the number, the complexity, and the aggregate strength of such ties has increased. No one can have observed social life carefully, under any aspect, without seeing that coöperative interests have in some measure replaced personal ones; that in its conscious spirit western civilization has become less individualistic, more highly organized, or, if you will, more socialistic. This is among the dominant notes of our time.¹⁶

This development has not gone unrecognized. A whole school of political and sociological writers has arisen expressing dissatisfaction with the present basis of democracy and finding in the emergence of groups promise of a more representative and more efficient form of government.¹⁷

Adoption of Group Representation. Some political theorists are convinced that the basis of the old system of representation is slipping and that it is necessary to seek elsewhere for a system that will adequately reflect the needs and the desires of the electorate. Representation based upon territorial division is breaking down, in the opinion of these thinkers, and something must be substituted. What of the group bound together by like interests rather than by mere neighborliness? "Prophecy may be a dangerous adventure, but the immense development of group life in every field of social activity seems so general, so spontaneous, and so characteristic of our time as to demand the admission

¹⁶ A. Lawrence Lowell, *Public opinion and popular government*, 39-40.

¹⁷ See writings of Harold J. Laski, John N. Figgis, Ernest Barker, Felix Adler, Herbert Croly, and Leon Duguit.

For a short discussion of this movement, see M. P. Follett, *New state*, 258-70. See also Francis W. Coker, *The technique of the pluralistic state*, *American Political Science Review*, XV, 186 ff. (1921); also "Pluralistic Theories and the Attack upon State Sovereignty" constituting Chapter III of the memorial volume contributed by students of the late W. A. Dunning, edited by C. E. Merriam; and W. Y. Elliott, *Sovereign state or sovereign group*, *American Political Science Review*, XIX, 476-99 (1925). See p. 266.

that it contains at any rate the elements of the social organization of the future."¹⁸

This development of groups and their participation in government is seen by some writers as offering a method of decentralization¹⁹ and an escape from bureaucracy;²⁰ by others as offering the basis for the system of representation most in harmony with democratic government.²¹ The literature on the subject continually grows more voluminous.

Nor are the developments of this subject in any degree limited to theoretical discussions. Among the nations of Europe are to be found many examples of the actual participation of organized groups in government. To discuss these cases would be to go far beyond the purposes of this book, but bare mention should be made in passing of some of the important developments. The idea of occupational, functional, professional, economic, or class representation has been incorporated in greater or less degree into the constitutions of not a few of the states of Europe. Russia is the outstanding example with its All-Russian Congress, wherein are gathered the representatives of the miners, iron-workers, farmers, professional men, and other classes selected without rigid regard to territorial divisions.²² The constitution of 1919, upon which the present government of Germany is established, provides in Article 165 for a National Economic Council, consisting of the spokesmen from nine groups of industries, business, professions, and occupations, including representatives of the government and the civil service.²³ This council possesses no legislative power, but the constitution provides that bills relating to social and economic problems be submitted to the council for its opinion before going to the Reichstag. It may also initiate bills on its own account and present them to the legislative body. Advisory economic councils are provided for in the constitutions of the new states of Yugoslavia, Poland, and Danzig, and somewhat similar councils have been established in Italy, Spain, and Esthonia. France has long

¹⁸ Duguit, *Law in the modern state*, 116.

¹⁹ W. E. Walling, *American labor and American democracy*, 163.

²⁰ *Behind the mirrors*, 206 ff.

²¹ Among those advocating occupational or group representation are Duguit, Prins, Degreef, Charles Benoist, La Grasserie, and others referred to by J. W. Garner in *Political science and government*, 658.

²² Official charts, Central Executive Committee, U. S. S. R.

²³ Herman Finer, *Representative government and a parliament of industry*.

had technical advisory bodies for administrative matters, and in 1925 a council suggestive of the Reichswirtschaftsrat was set up by decree. It is patent that in Europe within recent years the participation of the organized group in government has become a reality.²⁴ Still more significant is the formal recognition of this fact as evinced by the constitutional provision in the fundamental law of these nations, establishing official mediums through which economic and functional classes may make their influence felt. Proposals that some such representative system be established have been put forward by the Guild Socialists in England²⁵ and by theorists in the United States.²⁶ The political pluralists incline to this view. Duguit,²⁷ one of the leaders of this school of thought, states: "All the great forces of the national life ought to be represented—industry, property, commerce, manufacturing, professions, and even science and religion."

Those holding to a pluralistic conception of the state advocate the granting of greater power and recognition to the group as an integral unit in the political structure. Orthodox political theory places chief emphasis upon a unified state rather than upon a congeries of more or less definite groupings of citizens. This study, however, is not concerned with a discussion of theory, but rather with the description of fact. An account of the number and power of the groups already existing and the degree to which they are concerning themselves with government may serve to clarify somewhat the situation as it exists in this country and as it may be observed at the national capital.

These groups have brought to the fore a significant development in representative government. We find in this democracy, the governmental system of which is premised on the selection of representatives from geographic units, a system of vocational and special interest representation arising. These groups have evolved as the natural sequence of the social, economic, and political forces of the time. They have received no official recognition and have been given no legal place in the governmental structure as have

²⁴ J. W. Garner, *Political science and government*, 661; also good brief discussion of occupational representation at pp. 655-75.

²⁵ G. H. D. Cole, *Guild socialism restated*; Graham Wallas, *The great society*.

²⁶ William McDonald, *A new constitution for a new America*.

²⁷ Leon Duguit, *Droit constitutionnel*, 368-71, quoted by Garner, *op. cit.*, 658.

similar groups in Europe. In the United States they stand beyond the pale of the Constitution. On the face of things they seem to contradict and perhaps disrupt the older system of geographic representation, for they stand as the spokesmen of groups much more unified and cohesive than the heterogeneous constituency of an arbitrary geographic division of territory. The common bond of mere propinquity means less and less in this day of rapid intercommunication. Men are no longer bound to the restricted interests of a community; literally and figuratively they can "tune in" on the interests of the whole nation. Women have certain common interests, so have locomotive engineers, macaroni manufacturers, or churchmen; to-day these groups meet in convention, discuss policies, and select spokesmen. As groups with special interests they are avowedly determined that their influence shall be felt and their welfare considered.

Under the theory of representative government the legislators are presumed to hold to a broad national point of view and think in terms of the public good. These organized groups oftentimes succeed in affecting this detached point of view by skillful pleading; sometimes they succeed in sending their representatives to the legislative bodies. Moreover, the problems of various groups in some cases have become so technical and complex that the legislator needs expert guidance to handle these interests intelligently. Here again, orthodox theory comes into conflict with the actual situation. The established system not only fails to represent the citizen in the social circumstances in which he actually lives, but likewise precludes delegates of groups from participating in the direct solution of the difficult problems of their class, with which they, as members of this class are most competent to deal. When such delegates do succeed in obtaining seats in a legislative assembly they appear to contravene the theory of representative government when they act as spokesmen for their group. Legislators theoretically are spokesmen for the people as a whole. Established institutions make difficult any such official participation of groups, and accepted theories of government discourage special-interest representation.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that a multitude of groups have assumed a definite rôle in popular government. They are actively at work day in and day out as spokesmen for the citizens they

represent. The interests of the group are too immediate, too direct, too urgent to be neglected by that group. The interested parties speak for themselves. As a matter of fact, millions of citizens are organized and hundreds of their associations are actively engaged in forwarding their policies before the national government. Theoretically they may seem to conflict with accepted ideas of representative government, but their true significance can only be appreciated upon examination. What are these groups? How do they operate? What is their scope, their purpose, their point of view? What is their effect upon our system of government? The answers to these questions, so far as the author is able to give them, will be found in the chapters which follow.

CHAPTER II

GROUP REPRESENTATION AT THE CAPITAL

Associations Congregate in Washington. Washington is the center at which the activities of the various national groups with common interests are best to be observed at work. In fact, the capital is a latter-day Mecca in many respects. An unending stream of pilgrims ever flows through its streets. There are those who come to gaze and pass on: the lucrative freight of the sight-seeing busses. There is the host of the "elect" who pay their periodic visits to the high places of government. There is the great army of government employees that constitutes by far the largest single element of the population. There is the exotic fringe of the diplomatic crowd and the useful fabric of bankers, merchants, and tradesmen. But over and above all of these there is a zealous legion that is to be found in no place save the nation's capital. These are the spokesmen of national associations, leagues, societies, bureaus, alliances, committees, commissions, and what not. They are the representatives of groups holding certain interests or doctrines in common. They outdo all others in the fervor of their interest and watchfulness. Theirs is a long and constant vigil. In the aggregate they are a gaudy and a potent throng. Washington is their "place of assembly." Many have headquarters in New York, many in Chicago, some few are established in towns scattered over the country. But wherever their headquarters may be, whether Westerville, Ohio, or New York City, it is a rare national association, indeed, that does not maintain a branch office in Washington or send a representative there.

Why do the representatives of these groups congregate in the capital? It is not a financial center, it is not a manufacturing center, it is not a commercial center. It is not a hub of culture, or a hive of intellectual activity, or a metropolis of vast population. There are two reasons for the presence of these representatives in the national capital. The one bears directly upon the other. In the first place agencies of special-interest groups are set up in

Washington for the very important reason that here is the seat of government. Moreover, since this is the seat of government it is also the chief center of news in the country, and perhaps in the world. Since the main functions of these representatives are to keep in touch with the national government by establishing contacts with Congress and with the numerous administrative bureaus, and to keep in touch with the general public through the press and through private channels of propaganda, the reason that Washington is selected by practically all such associations is not far to seek.

Ostensibly, at least, the vast majority of these associations are organized merely for the mutual interest of their members. Their desire for specific legislation is not usually given great emphasis in their constitutions. Those that come out definitely and exclusively for "restrictive immigration" or for a "child labor amendment" are rare. Many of these associations attempt to give the inquirer the impression that their interest in legislation is very slight indeed, or even non-existent. A few are sincere, but most of them are typified by the young woman who came to Senator Caraway protesting that her association had been very grossly misrepresented, that it "had nothing to do with legislation." But says this Senator, "I have seen her out here in the lobby nearly every day since, calling out Members of the Senate, propagandizing them for something."¹

The simple fact that most of the important national associations make a point of holding offices in the national capital is a clear indication that they consider their relation to the government one of the more important reasons of their being. Some admit frankly that it is their interest in legislation and their contacts with government bureaus that account for the office in Washington. In fact, one charming young secretary in the office of an association of first importance asserted in a burst of candor that the chief function of her office was to "worry the life out of congressmen."

Contacts with Government Found Essential to Group Welfare. Washington is not a coal center, yet several national coal

¹ Cong. Record, 70 Cong. 1 sess., p. 6749, April 16, 1928. Throughout this book, page references to the Congressional Record of the Seventieth Congress refer to the advance copies, not to the volumes as finally bound.

associations have headquarters here. As to the railways there is more railway station than railway traffic, yet the engineers, the conductors, and other organized trainmen have erected a building to house the officers of the Brotherhoods; the railway executives have their national representative and even the railway security owners find a national association necessary. All aspects of rail-roading are represented. So it is with labor, and agriculture, and sugar, and the reformers, and pacifists and advocates of fifty-seven varieties.

However, the national government has extended its activities² so widely and entered so many fields that these groups find it necessary to maintain vigilant representatives at the capital. Business, labor, and agriculture have learned to listen when Washington speaks and have found that it is well to have agents on the spot to frame a suitable answer or make an adequate defense. There is the Interstate Commerce Commission with power over the railroads, their extensions, their rate-fixing, their financing, and in an increasing degree, their operation. Shipping must hark to the Shipping Board in many matters, the bankers cannot be indifferent to the voice of the Federal Reserve Board or the Treasury. The Department of Commerce and the Federal Trade Commission must be reckoned with. The farmers have innumerable contacts with the Department of Agriculture. Labor, likewise, finds constant coöperation with various governmental bureaus helpful. As the national government extends its activities, churchmen, uplifters, radicals, patriots, and philanthropists are looking more and more frequently to Washington. The close relationship existing between the government and the interests of various groups of people over the country are by no means confined to the representative branch of the government. Nor can they be disposed of during the periodic meeting of Congress. Contact between the government and the group of citizens with certain interests is in many cases a continuing relationship. Citizens find it to their advantage to retain agents and counsel who will adequately represent them before the numerous administrative federal tribunals. Contact with government means much more than the relation of the group to Congress.

² Burdick, *Law of the American constitution*, 152-53.

"News Value" of Washington Makes It Attractive to Groups. Aside from the fact that organized groups find contacts with Congress and with federal bureaus essential, there is a secondary reason that makes the capital city very attractive. In representing the interest of a particular group, publicity is a very important and influential factor. Every group has its publicity department that represents it before the public and endeavors to influence opinion. The fact, therefore, that Washington is a great news center greatly aids the groups, just as they add to the volume of news by their "releases" and their activities. Here in one concentrated area the ear of the entire nation may be reached. Over a hundred of the more important daily newspapers of the United States maintain offices in Washington. Foreign journals are also represented and numerous periodicals as well. More news is sent from this city of half a million people than from any other place in the world.³ Accordingly, the Washington date line gives a news item a value that it would not otherwise have. In many newspaper offices the simple fact that a despatch comes from the capital gives it an importance and prestige sufficient to outrank other items.

It is not surprising, then, to find that Washington is the happy home of propaganda and the paradise of the press agent.⁴ The national associations representing interests, political, religious, social, and industrial, "release" tons of press material and manufacture news by the gross. They are not alone, however. The national government itself participates.⁵ In fact, almost every department is equipped with a bureau of information: a polite term for a publicity agency. Moreover, the boards and commissions have press representatives and periodic "press conferences" are held with all the high administrative officers. Every Tuesday and Friday the President meets the assembled Washington correspondents and the next morning millions read of his opinions. So from the heights to the depths the windy gusts of propaganda

³ J. Frederick Essary, *Covering Washington*, 18.

⁴ On the new profession of "public relations counsel," see Edward L. Bernays, *Crystallizing public opinion*; on the part of propaganda in current affairs, see Silas Bent, *Ballyhoo*.

⁵ J. Essary, 18 *et passim*; Lindsay Rogers, *The American Senate*; David Lawrence, "President and press," *Saturday Evening Post*, August 27, 1927, p. 27.

sweep through Washington and blow over the country, fanning opinion hot or cold. Members of the House or Senate who can pay the price engage the services of some special writer to keep them favorably before the public. It is estimated that at times the press agents outnumber the journalists, yet the National Press Club in Washington has a membership of over a thousand newspaper men. Moreover, it is difficult at times to distinguish the output of the two sets of craftsmen. It is difficult to know when news is news and when it is propaganda. But it is all publicity, and this makes a congenial atmosphere for the associations whose stock in trade it is.

Other Reasons Explaining Presence of Groups in Capital.

However, beside the advantage of being situated in a news center there are other reasons that might be touched upon in explaining the national associations in Washington. With some of the less influential organizations the simple fact of being located in the capital city lends a prestige and imparts a "national" tinge that is very desirable and that they would not otherwise have. It helps their bluff. Besides, Washington is a pleasant place in which to live.

Then, too, scientific, professional, and technical groups find it advantageous to coöperate with the scientists and experts in the government service. Moreover, the fact that there are a number of national associations already established there, serves as an attraction to other associations.⁶ These organizations often have a good deal in common and it is mutually helpful to be in the same city.

However, over and above all these perfectly good reasons there looms the dome of the Capitol dominating all. There Congress holds its sessions and therein lies the attraction. The cast iron dome of the Capitol has strange magnetic powers. It is the great hive of the nation to which each busy big and little association sooner or later wings its way.

Group Representation Has Been Achieved. What is the significance of this situation in Washington? It means that the system of geographic representation as outlined in the fundamen-

⁶ Cong. Record, 66 Cong., 3 sess., p. 2414, February 2, 1921.

tal law of the land has been supplemented by a new and spontaneous and at the same time systematic form of representation based upon various interests of various groups of like-minded people. It means that there has developed in this government an extra-legal⁷ machinery of as integral and of as influential a nature as the system of party government that has long been an essential⁸ part of government, though not originally incorporated within the Constitution. There have always been groups of people in every country and under every form of government that have devoted their thoughts and energies to the forwarding of their own selfish interests. There is nothing novel in the fact that factions flock to the seat of government in order to look after their personal interests. The courtier has ever smirked about the throne and the petitioner kow-towed before His Majesty. Where power and wealth are, there favor-seekers and fortune-hunters abound. The groups at Washington, however, are by no means confined to those concerned with their immediate self-interest. To make this supplemental system of representation complete, associations are to be found working in behalf of highly altruistic and unselfish causes. Both in degree and in kind the factions established for the accomplishment of some special purpose exhibit developments and characteristics that make them worthy of examination. As has already been indicated in Chapter I, the first trait which marks these groups as factors of power is that of organization. They are organized to a degree never possible before in the history of the world. Technicological processes have made this possible. In the second place, these groups are ably and intelligently directed. They know their way about. In the third place, they have all the strength of a unity and cohesion which is the result of a definite program and a common aim. Let it be emphasized again that the presence of these groups means that a systematized and integrated organization for the representation of diverse group interests is now functioning at Washington.

All of these groups possess certain traits in common, and it is possible to get some view of the general situation by discussing the facts that are applicable in greater or less degree to all.

⁷ Fred DeWitt Shelton, Unofficial representative at Washington, *Independent*, January 2, 1926, CXVI, pp. 17-18.

⁸ T. M. Knappen, Third House of Congress, *Century*, CIII, 869-76 (April, 1922).

The Number of Associations. One of the most graphic ways to illustrate their extent and importance is to consider the sheer numbers. Their mere arithmetic is impressive. Certain difficulties are encountered, however, in attempting to count them one by one. It has never been done, and it is safe to say that it will never be done with entire success. They are too many and too changing to submit to the statistician. The lesser lights come and go. They vanish before their names can be collected. Still, there are many that shine with a constant, steady light; there are some that burn with a pyrotechnic glare: these cannot be overlooked. Among those of lesser importance there is a great deal of changing. Nevertheless, the total number of organized groups maintaining Washington offices may be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy.

At the present time a very conservative estimate places the total of these groups keeping representatives in the capital at well over five hundred. The writer has found the Washington addresses of five hundred and thirty. The telephone book alone lists over three hundred. The "*Chicago Tribune*" in a survey recently made of those organizations concerned with reform, pacifism, socialism, and religion, estimates that there are over four hundred.⁹ This figure ignores the trade associations, of which there are over one hundred in the capital. An observer on the scene for many years states that there are certainly more than a thousand representatives of organized groups in Washington and probably nearly five thousand, if their clerks, aides, statisticians, publicity helpers, and others be included.¹⁰ This takes no account of the volunteer spokesmen that come to Washington from time to time to impress their views upon officials of the government.

In considering these figures, giving the totals of the national groups represented in Washington, it is well to consider that in many cases the national association is but the apex of a structure built up of units in the states, the state organizations in turn being composed of smaller groups based upon congressional districts or upon counties. It is a perfect hierarchy of member groups culminating in the national headquarters. In some cases the associate groups may be numbered by the score and in not a few

⁹ *Chicago Tribune*, July 17, 1927.

¹⁰ Frederic J. Haskin, *Washington Star*, May 30, 1926.

they run into the hundreds. Then, too, a number of these Washington representatives act in the capacity of a "clearing house" for other coöperating societies. Frequently the office in the capital is the legislative bureau or the publicity agency of a score or more of organizations having headquarters in other parts of the country. The federations of the state and local associations and the Washington "clearing houses" of associated societies make it more difficult to arrive at a just estimate of the actual number of special groups that maintain spokesmen at the capital. The writer has attempted a census and prepared several lists,¹¹ but it has been impossible to establish entire accuracy. On this point a prominent ex-lobbyist has stated:¹²

Nobody has yet taken a complete census of the men and women associated with the assistant government, but it is said that if all connected with this distinctively American Institution were suddenly to withdraw from Washington a serious slump in the city's population would result. Real estate values would be adversely affected and many empty apartments would be at the disposal of those who now say they are unable to find desirable places to live. Hotels would experience a sudden lapse into adversity and taxicab drivers would suffer a decided loss in fares.

The presence of these Washington group representatives has been recognized in another and very substantial manner. It has been announced by one of the foremost real estate companies in the capital that a National Association Building is to be erected to house the numerous offices of the organized groups. There are enough of them in Washington to warrant the investment of over a million dollars in a building specially designed for their express use. It is to have every convenience, including a department for multigraphing and mailing the propaganda of the associations, and a library and reference room where a feature will be a collection of literature pertaining to federal legislation.¹³ Before this project was decided upon a canvass was made in order to ascertain the number and the strength of the association movement generally.

¹¹ For list, see Herbert Quick, If they have their way, *Saturday Evening Post*, January 31, 1920, p. 5; also Watchful lobbies and lobbyists that camp in Washington, *Literary Digest*, October 30, 1920, pp. 58-59; also Appendix 1.

¹² Charles Barrett, Uncle Reuben in Washington, 60.

¹³ Booklet issued by the Wardman Construction Co., 4.

From a strictly business point of view it was decided that such a project was sound.¹⁴

The official representatives of the people are only too well aware of the presence of these unofficial representatives. In fact, one of the favorite complaints of a Congressman is against these swarms. With doubtless more picturesqueness of phrase than accuracy of statement one prominent Senator lamented:¹⁵ "They are becoming as numerous as the lice of Egypt. A stone casually thrown in the streets of the city would probably hit half a dozen of them."

And another Senator¹⁶ stated: "I have seen the corridors leading to the Finance Committee room of the Senate so filled with them that it was almost impossible for an outside Senator to get to the committee room, and barely possible to get in it."

Still another Senator said on one occasion:¹⁷ "It is reaching a point nowadays where Congress is swarming with lobbies of every kind and description—some good lobbies and some bad lobbies. You cannot go to your office, you cannot get through the corridors anywhere without having some of these lobbyists talking to you about bills in Congress."

A fourth Senator stated:¹⁸ ". . . I never in my life saw such a swarm of men as were around the Finance Committee while they had this bill [tariff act] before them. Day after day they came there with their handbags; they swarmed in the corridor, and the bill indicates that most of them got their work in well. . . . They have us by the throat, and so perhaps it would be wiser to take the medicine in silence and turn our heads toward Providence and hope to get relief from that source."

Observers state, moreover, that the number of representatives of organized groups established in the capital to watch legislation and speak for their membership is on the increase. Between ten and fifteen years ago the situation was entirely different. In little more than a decade this descent of Washington representatives of national associations upon the capital has been witnessed. Many

¹⁴ Interview with officials. The writer is informed that this project has been indefinitely postponed.

¹⁵ Senator Thomas, in Cong. Record, 66 Cong. 3 sess., p. 2412.

¹⁶ Senator McKellar, in *ibid.*, April 8, 1924, p. 6110, Appendix.

¹⁷ Senator Kenyon, in *ibid.*, 66 Cong. 3 sess., p. 1242, January 11, 1921.

¹⁸ Senator Knute Nelson, in a speech in Senate, July, 1922, as noted in Democratic handbook of 1924, p. 234.

interpretations have been advanced by those in the capital, but all agree that it is one of the most conspicuous developments of recent years. Quite as interesting as the number is the variety of organizations to be encountered.

The Variety of Associations. Not only are almost all sorts of interests and classes represented but also all sides of most questions as well. For example, the motorists have the American Automobile Association; the manufacturers are represented by the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, while the distributors speak through the National Automobile Dealers Association. Makers and sellers of accessories, tires, batteries, and parts have their national associations. What of the poor pedestrian? There is the American Pedestrian Protective Association, organized in 1926, with national headquarters in Washington.¹⁹ There is the Lord's Day Alliance on the one hand and the Association Opposed to Blue Laws on the other; there is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and there is the Ku Klux Klan. Instances could be multiplied indefinitely, but many other examples will be encountered in the course of this study. The mention of the titles of a few indicates something of the variety in Washington. Witness the medley of interests suggested by the following: Indian Rights Association, Progressive Education Association, American Genetic Association, Popular Government League, Institute of Margarine Manufacturers, St. Lawrence Tidewater Association, American Taxpayers' League, American Forest Association, American Civic Association, and the Associated General Contractors of America. A classification of such a miscellany presents difficulties disproportionate to any gain to be obtained by placing them in categories. Yet all the associations fall generally into one of two broad divisions; namely, those working for the direct interest of the membership and those concerned with what they believe to be the welfare of the "other fellow." In this first division appear the numerous craft organizations, such as the labor unions, the business men's associations,

¹⁹ Concerning such societies as this Senator Caraway made the caustic comment in the Senate that he saw where they did no good to the pedestrian "except to relieve him of some of his money so he can run faster, being lighter than he was before they got hold of him." This particular society is agitating for the building of footways along the national roads. Cong. Record, 70 Cong. 1 sess., p. 3420, February 21, 1928.

the farmers' organizations, and the professional and vocational societies. Included in this group of interests primarily concerned with their own welfare would be placed the national organizations representing those dealing in the great basic commodities, such as coal, oil, iron, sugar and wool; the meat packers, the railroads, the spokesmen of great steel companies and the organized manufacturers.

In this first division it is difficult to find a forthright acknowledgment on the part of the group representatives that they are entirely self-interested. The American Federation of Labor talks of working for "labor and the people." "Its accomplishments have benefited all the people, for the trade union movement is as wide and deep as human life."²⁰ The Chamber of Commerce of the United States takes the position that "what is good for the business is good for the country."²¹ The Farm Bureau Federation states that "in reviving and invigorating American farm life, we are regenerating and preserving the Nation."²² Similar statements may be encountered in the literature of others of these associations of the various industries of the country. The fact remains, however, that the primary purpose of these organizations is to guard the interests of their respective groups.

In the second division of this classification there is to be found the organizations of those who carry on operations apparently not redounding to their own immediate welfare or aggrandisement. Some of them are what are generally known as "reform associations." They are concerned with improving general moral conditions. For example, there is the International Reform Federation working for the abolishment through legislation of all so-called "promoted vice." Then there are the societies fighting for some specific reform, such as Sunday "Blue Laws" or stricter prohibition enforcement. However, a large proportion of the organizations in this second category are not concerned with these so-called moral questions, but are working for some other "cause." It may be to protect the rights of Indians or it may be to secure more efficient government. It may be to promote patriotism or

²⁰ American Federation of Labor, History and encyclopedia and reference book, 1919, p. 5.

²¹ Chamber of Commerce of U. S., An experiment in democracy, 7.

²² American Farm Bureau Federation, Annual report of Washington office, 1923, p. 20.

to further education. Many of these organizations are immensely wealthy, while some are very poor and their sponsors barely make a living. In all, it is the urge to further the "cause," whatever it may be, that keeps the membership loyal and finances the office in the capital.

A more important and practical classification may be made by considering these groups not so much in regard to their kind but rather in regard to their relative strength. The division between the great and the weak is more important than that between the heterogeneity of associations arbitrarily thrust into pigeon holes. Opinions differ as to the actual number of these groups that may be accorded a position among those of most power. It is not a matter admitting of definite statement.

The most important and the most typical will be considered later in this book. Some of outstanding importance,²³ however, may be mentioned at this point. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Anti-Saloon League, the American Farm Bureau Federation, the National Education Association, American Federation of Labor, the National League of Women Voters, the American Legion, the newspapers as represented by the American Publishers' Conference, the Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the railway brotherhoods, the Association of Railway Executives, the Federal Council of Churches, the Association Against Prohibition, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the National Grange, and a dozen or more strong trade associations, such as those of the wool-growers, and coal, oil, lumber, meat packing, and sugar interests.

It is groups of this type that erect the magnificent buildings or occupy large offices, hire the elaborate and skilled staffs of experts, and operate on a great scale in the full light of publicity. Their buildings in most cases are situated in the immediate vicinity of the Capitol, or stand across the street from the office buildings of the Congressmen, or face the White House or the State Department. Actually as well as figuratively they seem to state,

²³ Frank Kent, *Great game of politics*, 259, states that there are about sixty organizations who are really effective. This account was written in 1923. The total number of national associations in Washington has grown greatly since then.

Herbert Quick, *op. cit.*, states there are thirty-four "really big ones."

"We are the assistant government." Housed in buildings comparable to those of the government itself and supported by intellect and wealth, they play their "unofficial" rôle in government with something of the official air.

The Other Side of the Picture. In a game in which so much is to be gained by organized endeavor it is not strange to find that the outward appearance of the strong national organizations is borrowed by other groups that have observed the efficacy of the executive secretary and the office with the card-file index. In other words, groups possessing more zeal than members and more noise than substance, take over the appurtenances of a great national association and endeavor to create the impression that they speak for great masses of the voters. In fact, with few exceptions the organized faction makes an outcry and attracts a degree of attention that is disproportionate to its actual importance. There have been and there still are a few that are out-and-out "bluffs."

Sometimes the "bluffers" are consecrated souls who feel the urge to bring about some reform that appears wise to them individually. But what is the power of a single voice crying alone in the wilderness? They must go to others with their story and stir up a band of followers who will give at least the backing of their name. There are many people in this country who find it hard to say "No." There are many of the "Yes" men in the bands of the reformers. Appeals are often put in such a way as to place the victim upon the horns of a dilemma. If you do not join this society for world peace, then you favor killing your fellow man. If you will not join that anti-narcotic league, then you are a dope fiend or favor free distribution of drugs to kindergartens. Organizers of this sort often get a backing sufficient to enable them to appear as the representative of a "national" association and speak with the awful voice of the "people." However, their influence may usually be evaluated for what it is worth by anyone familiar with the situation in Washington. On the other hand, if the cause can obtain a wide following, it is but a short step from the meek little reform group to a national association of great influence.

There have been a few exposures of so-called national associations which are not even sincere in their inception. The originator

of the bluff group is often a crusader and does not always work for personal aggrandizement. There is many a ragged one in the capital writing form letters in dingy offices, begging money from indifferent supporters, and trying to remake society. However, such figures are very exceptional. They are more than out-weighed by the executive secretaries of "bread and butter leagues," societies wherein the chief purpose is to provide a living for the officers.²⁴ Such an organization takes a name that makes an appeal to a particular group (usually a wealthy one). The association may be called the League of Southern Bankers or the Guardians of the Republic. The purpose of the organization panders to the pet aversions and prejudices of the group whose support is courted. The organizer then gathers a band of high-power salesmen, gives them a very liberal commission, and sends them over a selected territory to sign up members. Forty per cent of the initiation fee goes into the pocket of the salesman and the rest goes to support the Washington office. The organization advocates a large number of measures and takes credit for those that happen to pass Congress. For the rest that are failures, there are endless alibis. If the bankers or the "one hundred per centers" do not succumb in sufficient numbers to the blandishments of the super salesmen, it is an easy matter to alter the name so as to include a larger public. Then as the National Taxpayers' Society or the League of American Voters anybody is eligible for membership. This account may sound fanciful, but with the exception of the names, which for

²⁴ See William Allen White, *Politics: the citizen's business*, 11-12, for another account of the paid organizer.

Senator T. H. Caraway's remarks in this connection are interesting. He said in the Senate:

"Whenever there is anything to which somebody, by his ingenuity, can induce some one else to contribute, there is formed a corporation or association, and money is collected from the credulous. Doubtless \$99 out of every \$100 goes into the promoter's pockets. The entire activity of some of these associations is to find out what is likely to happen and notify people and to take credit for bringing it about. . . . One bright fellow from a city came here during the last session of Congress, and it developed he had collected around \$60,000 from business men, who ought to have intelligence enough to know that he was a fake. He reported that he spent \$58,000 of it. Of course he spent it by taking it out of their pockets and putting it into his."—*Cong. Record*, 70 Cong. 1 sess., p. 3420, February 21, 1928.

obvious reasons are fictitious, it is a recital of actual fact. There is nothing actually illegal about such a "bluff" organization though ethically it is obviously open to criticism.

The case of the National Disabled Soldiers' League provides an excellent example of the "bogus" society claiming to represent a group, though actually representing the greed of its organizers. This organization was investigated by a congressional committee²⁵ and shown to be a bluff and a criminal fraud. There was a Washington office, a group of "officers," a list of prominent sponsors, and even a national convention of "members." The convention, however, was staged, the delegates hired, and the sponsors' names used without their consent.

It must not be inferred that there are many organizations of this nature, but the fact is worthy of note that the reputation and power of the legitimate representatives of groups are at times used as blinds. Under the present condition of affairs there is no way in which the authorities can learn of the nature of the organizations purporting to represent important bodies of the citizenry without undertaking an individual investigation of each one. A much more insidious form of this same game of deception is that typified by such an organization as the Farmers' State Rights League. This was a so-called national association, set up ostensibly to represent the opinion of the farmers of the South toward the proposed child labor amendment. Actually the Farmers' States Rights League was an association of the cotton mill operators of the Carolinas, organized for the sole purpose of maintaining the labor conditions in the mills as they are. These manufacturers disguised their real intent by representing themselves as a society of farmers protesting against the spread of the federal power into the states. There was hardly a farmer in the entire outfit. The officers devoted their attention to getting out propaganda purporting to come from the farmers of the South.²⁶ This publicity material was broadcast through the West as the views of the Southern agriculturists upon the proposed amendment to the Constitution. The releases were prepared chiefly for the rural papers. The whole scheme was a deliberate endeavor to befog public opinion on a question of national import. Here again the recog-

²⁵ Cong. Record, 68 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 5445-47, March 3, 1925.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 3991-94, February 17, 1925.

nized effectiveness of a "national association" as an instrument to affect legislation and public opinion was utilized. The National Association for the Rejection of the Twentieth Amendment is yet another example.²⁷ It was composed of seven interested manufacturers.

Another type of deceptive organization is that which exists upon paper only. Existing merely in name, it is a difficult matter to find the executive secretary and an impossible one to locate the membership. Moribund most of the time, they exhibit an occasional indication of life when a matter arises that momentarily concerns them. Lastly, there are a number of mushroom organizations concerned with a single issue. If they fail to win their point, they die of starvation; if they win their point, their purpose for existence, their *raison d'être*, is taken from them. They meet their Waterloo at Austerlitz. Like the village dog-catcher, who held his political job and basked in the rays of officialdom until he caught the village cur and was forced to resign because there was no more work, the organizers of these agencies lose when they win. The experienced ones accordingly guard well against any such paradoxical success by making their programs large and ambitious.

These examples of deception, dishonesty, and ineptitude illustrate one aspect of affairs. They serve to demonstrate what is possible under the present condition of these organizations. They should not detract attention from the substantial fact that influential and powerful groups of voters, with great common interests to be guarded or advanced, have sent their ambassadors to the capital in an ordered array and have achieved thereby a supplementary system of representative government.

Representatives or Agents? Representation has been achieved, but representation in what sense? The officers at Washington sent there by the membership of the association are supposed ostensibly to be but the ears and the eyes of the body of members which supports them. Volitional impulses supposedly are only to come from the members. The officers at Washington are not representatives but agents. They cannot commit their following to a course

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1447, January 8, 1925.

in the same way that a member of Congress may commit his constituency. Speaking theoretically, these officers in Washington function as delegates, carrying out the instructions which they receive at the annual conventions of their associations or the orders that they get from the membership by other means. There is a tendency however, in all such organizations for the rank and file to submit to direction from the top and for the national headquarters, through employees in the local branches, to manage the membership as effectively as ever a bureaucracy ruled a democracy. In most cases the constitutions of these associations do not permit of as wide a discretionary power in the advent of new issues at Washington as that which a congressman would feel free to exercise without consulting his constituents. But discrepancies between constitutional provisions and actual practice are bound to occur. The more closely defined the membership, the simpler the program, and the clearer the needs, the easier it is to reflect directly the wishes of the members.

But such a fortuitous combination is not always found. Many of these groups are very loosely defined, with an indifferent and indeterminate membership; their influence and power depending largely upon the activity of the officers in charge. And while some are of the greatest usefulness and possessed of unimpeachable integrity, many others of these associations are fakes, out and out, ruled by rogues and composed of dupes.

CHAPTER III

FROM THE OLD LOBBY TO THE NEW

The Lobby Defined. Not long ago one of our younger Solons upon the floor of the Senate expressed the opinion that the Capitol looked to him like a nursing bottle.¹ "If the dome does not look like the top of an old-fashioned nursing bottle," thundered this statesman, "I do not know what it looks like!"

As a matter of fact, Washington is full of people suffering from just such an optical delusion. They view the Capitol hungrily as the source of nutriment for their own interests. It is a rare organized group indeed that does not desire something from the national government. If they are not working to get something for themselves they are busily struggling to prevent an enemy organization from obtaining legislative favors. All of these organizations operate in Washington in matters dealing with government and legislation through that institution known as the "lobby." A congressional committee has defined this term lobby as having "the broad meaning of a person or body of persons seeking to influence Congress in any way whatsoever."² There is hardly a national association in the capital that under this definition of the term does not at one time or another function as a lobby. Most of these associations have much wider interests than those connected with the lobby alone. In many cases the work of lobbying is carried on by a special department of the organization that is designated for that particular task. This department always enjoys a singularly important position.

Despite this fact, it is a difficult matter to meet a lobbyist face to face. One may encounter legislative agents, executive secretaries, special counsels, research secretaries, and national chairmen quite frequently, but very seldom is an acknowledged lobbyist to be seen. The reason is not far to seek. "The word at one period carried with it a certain idea of acts, sinister and corrupt,

¹ Senator Shipstead, Cong. Record, 69 Cong. 1 sess., p. 6291, March 29, 1926.

² Report of House Committee on charges against members of the House and lobby activities, 63 Cong., H. rep. 113, p. 15, December 9, 1913.

and the first impression now made upon the mind of the average man when this word is used in connection with legislative bodies is probably in line with this conception."²

Naturally enough, those seeking to influence legislation at present do not relish a title that suggests such an evil reputation. A change has taken place in the methods of the lobby within the past decade or so, and to-day the lobbyist functions quite differently from his predecessor. A gradual evolution has changed the lobby in many essential aspects.

The Lobby of the Past. The record of the lobby in years gone by provides ample evidence to justify the connotations that it still arouses in the minds of many people. The pages of American history show not a few blots left there by the stains of political corruption; and the lobby is responsible for many of them. Traces of a lobby are to be found many years back.³ Groups of self-seeking individuals have ever importuned legislatures for special favors.

"Groups, some of them actuated by the most patriotic motives, and others purely selfish, have maintained what are commonly called lobbyists in Washington, I presume since the foundation of the Government," Senator Caraway writes.⁴

The Senator's presumption is well founded. Abundant evidence of this is to be found by paging through the Journal of William Maclay, the daily account kept by the Senator from Pennsylvania describing the activities of the First Congress from the point of view of one of the participants. The foremost issue with this Congress was the funding of the national debt and the assumption of the state debts by the national government. Speculation in the depreciated certificates issued by the old government under the Confederation was rife. Members of Congress bought up quan-

² "In Queen Elizabeth's time a speaker of the House of Commons, Sir John Trevor, was bribed by rich merchants to exert his influence in Parliament in behalf of certain favors to the municipality of London."—Lalor, *Encyclopedia of political science*, II, 778.

See: Paul S. Reinsch, *American legislatures and legislative methods*, 228-74; Hudson C. Tanner, *The lobby and public men from Thurlow Weed's time*; and Theodore Roosevelt, *American ideals*, 63-66.

⁴ Letter to author from Senator T. H. Caraway, August 31, 1927.

tities of these bonds when a possibility of their being legislated to par was seen. Then every effort was made to pass the bill putting through the Treasury's funding plan. The success of the bill meant money in the pockets of the speculators, many of whom were members of Congress. By March 9, 1790, the lobby was apparently well under way; for we find Maclay recording: "I do not know that pecuniary influence has actually been used, but I am certain that every kind of management has been practiced and every tool at work that could be thought of. Officers of the Government, clergy, citizens, [Order of] Cincinnati and every person under the influence of the Treasury" worked for the success of the bill.

To trace in any detail the story of the lobby and the many extra-legal and sometimes questionable influences that have been brought to bear on the government of this country since that early congress would require a book in itself.

No effort to cover the ground exhaustively is here attempted, but if a general impression of the methods and status of the lobby of the last century is indicated, enough has been accomplished. In the era previous to the Civil War lobbying activities centered about Pendleton's "Palace of Fortune" on Pennsylvania Avenue. The establishment was known to its frequenters as "The Hall of the Bleeding Heart." It was very elaborately furnished, good paintings hung on the walls and the dining and supper tables were "loaded with plate of the pure metal." The cooking was declared superb and the wine cellar worthy of a connoisseur.

The people who nightly assembled to see and to take part in the entertainments of the house consisted of candidates for the Presidency, Senators and Representatives, members of the Cabinet, editors and journalists, and the master workmen of the third house, the lobby. Pendleton's in its palmy days, might have been called the vestibule of the lobby. Its most distinguished professors might be found there. They lent money to their clients when the "animal scratched too roughly," that is to say, when the play ran against them, and they became "broke," as they sometimes did. Pendleton himself was an operator in the lobby. His professional position gave him great facilities. He assisted in the passage of many useful bills of a private nature, involving considerable sums of money. A broker in parliamentary notes is an inevitable retainer of broker voters.⁵

⁵ Poore, Perley's reminiscences, II, 44.

This rendezvous of public men made a convenient place for the politicians and the favor seekers to come together, and bribes could easily be passed in the form of winnings at cards. This is reported to have been the case. It is an interesting commentary on the times to note that on the death of Pendleton, President Buchanan attended his funeral and several leading Democratic members of Congress were among his pall bearers.

By that time, however, lobbying had attained well nigh to the status of an American institution. It was a recognized profession, to say the least. The most outstanding figure in this work at Washington in the sixties and seventies of the last century was Sam Ward, the so-called "King of the Lobby."

Ward was born in 1814, came of a distinguished family, and received every advantage that wealth and education could bestow. He followed a varied career, however, studying abroad, digging gold in California, writing verse, and serving as a diplomatic representative to Nicaragua. As to his appearance, he was short in stature, a "compactly built, round-headed gentleman." It was not until after the Civil War that he established himself in the national capital and became the most prominent lobbyist in the country. His talents and his temperament were eminently suited to his task. He was a wit and a gentleman of culture; he carried himself in the "grand manner." Lobbying he looked upon as a profession, which he practiced openly and zestfully. His headquarters were in the rooms of the Appropriations Committee at the Capitol, or after hours in a modest little frame building on "E" Street. It was in this latter establishment that he did the entertaining that was essential to the success of the lobbyist in those days. Presiding at the head of the board laden with gastronomical triumphs, many of which were of his own invention, "Uncle Sam" Ward was at his best.*

* Julia Ward Howe, *Reminiscences*, 1819-1899, p. 68 *et seq.* To Ward's other accomplishments, Ben. Perley Poore adds that Ward was a "good witness and consequently a reliable friend."

"He said of himself, just after being examined by General Butler, during the Andrew Johnson impeachment investigation, that he had been before that d-d strabismal inquisition and that his evidence wasn't worth half his mileage. It should be known that his mileage was twenty cents, ten cents per mile each way from Willard's Hotel to the Capitol, and that, as his street-car fare only cost him twelve, he sent eight cents to the Treasury as conscience money."—Poore, *Perley's reminiscences*, 246-47.

He had an unusual power of reconciling people who were at variance with each other, and the dinners at which he presided furnished occasions to bring face to face political opponents accustomed to avoid each other, but unable to resist the *bonhomie* which sought to make them better friends. He became known as the king of the lobby, but much more as the prince of entertainers. Although careful in his diet, he was well versed in gastronomics, and his menus were wholly original and excellent. He had friendly relations with the diplomats who were prominent in the society of the capital. Lord Roseberry and the Duke of Devonshire were among his friends, as were also the late Senator Bayard and President Garfield.

That these dinners of Ward's were memorable affairs, is evidenced by the fact that "Uncle Joe" Cannon,⁷ upon his retirement from Congress more than forty years later, recalled that "years ago Sam Ward was the only so-called lobbyist here. He gave dinners and entertainments: he always had plenty of food and drinks and never asked any one to help him out." Those were the halcyon days of the lobby. The work was done by a few "barons" who had the entré to committee rooms, contacts with public men of influence, and a well lined purse with which to entertain and to distribute money "where it would do the most good." That funds changed hands between lobbyists and legislators and that bribes were distributed in the form of railroad stocks, is now a matter of history.⁸ This was the day of the *Crédit Mobilier* and the Central Pacific land grants. It is a scandalous and, withal, a colorful page of American history.

Reputation of Old Lobby. Those days, however, did not last for long. The rule of the lobby barons was taken over by a crowd of adventurers who descended upon the capital.⁹ They were in full operation when the investigation in connection with the Pacific railroads came along in 1888.¹⁰ In the sixties, seventies, and eighties

⁷ "Uncle Joe," *Literary Digest*, March 17, 1923, LXXVI, p. 48.

⁸ For brief references, see Schlesinger, *Political and social history of the United States*, 296. For detailed accounts of political corruption of the time see Rhodes, *History of the United States*, VII, and Dunning, *Reconstruction*, political and economic (*American Nation Series*, XXII).

⁹ Lobby Abuses, *Nation*, XCVI, June 12, 1913, p. 585.

¹⁰ S. doc. 51, 50 Cong. 1 sess. gives a description of the Pacific Railway lobby.

of the last century the lobbyist played an active part in politics all over this country. Of lobbying in those days James Bryce quotes this comment by an experienced American publicist:¹¹ "It is so disagreeable and humiliating that all men shrink from it except those who are stimulated by direct personal interest; and these soon throw away all scruples."

The attitude of the press toward the lobbyist is illustrated in this excerpt from the *Nation*:¹²

The professional lobbyist is a man whom everybody suspects; who is generally during one half of the year without honest means of livelihood; and whose employment by those who have bills before a legislature is only resorted to as a disagreeable necessity. More than this, the lobbyist are men, as may be imagined, whose knowledge, in fact, is confined to what they can pick up from hearing members converse and debate. We may say, therefore, that the only office they can perform is to tell one member what they have heard other members say they have been thinking about.

The general attitude toward the lobbyist in those days was one of contempt. The word "lobbyist" was a term of opprobrium, and very justly so. One observer relates:¹³

I asked for an explanation and soon learned that the "Third House" consisted of old ex-members of either House or Senate, broken down politicians, professional bores, and other vagrants who had made themselves familiar with the modus operandi of legislation, and who negotiated for the votes of members on terms to be agreed upon by the contracting parties—in short these were the lobby members of the legislature, a portion of mankind which I had never heard mentioned in terms other than contempt and disgust.

Was I then to become familiar with these leeches—these genteel loafers, who having no apparent business, yet manage to live at the best hotels, drink the best wines, and go home at the end of the session with more money than any of the honest members.

¹¹ Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, I, 680.

¹² Existence of lobby, *Nation*, July 22, 1869, IX, 64-65. For other old magazine articles on the lobby, see: Congressional lobby, *Republic*, January, 1851, I, 73; Lobbyist in the niche, *Lippincott's*, December, 1906, 78, 766-76; Third house, *Overland Monthly*, May, 1902, n. s., XXXIX, 903-7; Lobby in Politics, *New England Magazine*, XVI, 151; and Publicity and the lobby, *Nation*, August 20, 1891, LIII, 136.

¹³ "Is there anything in it?" (Experiences in the lobby), *Continental Monthly*, June, 1863, III, 688.

Methods of Old Lobby. Perhaps the fullest and certainly one of the most colorful accounts of the old lobby is given by Ben. Perley Poore, from whose reminiscences the following quotation is taken :

The lobby is a quiet but efficient part of Congressional machinery. Scores of bills are considered and passed during every session, each involving thousands of dollars, and those having them in charge do not feel like turning a deaf ear to any one who can promise support. An occasional investigation reveals the work of ex-Congressmen, who hover about the Capitol like birds of prey, and of correspondents so scantily paid by the journals with which they are connected that they are forced to prostitute their pens. But the most adroit lobbyists belong to the gentler sex. Some of them are the widows of officers of the army and navy, others the daughters of Congressmen of a past generation, and others have drifted from home localities, where they have found themselves the subjects of scandalous comments. They are retained with instructions to exert their influence with designated Congressmen. Sometimes the Congressmen are induced to vote aye on a certain measure ; sometimes to vote no, and it often occurs that where the lobbyist cannot make an impression on them, one way or the other, they will endeavor to keep them away from the House when the roll is called.

To enable them to do their work well, they have pleasant parlors, with works of art and bric-a-brac donated by admirers. Every evening they receive, and in the winter their blazing wood fires are often surrounded by a distinguished circle. Some treat favored guests to a game of euchre, and as midnight approaches there is always an adjournment to the dining-room, where a choice supper is served. A cold game pie, broiled oysters, charmingly mixed salad, and one or two light dishes generally constitute the repast, with iced champagne or Burgundy at blood heat. Who can blame a Congressman for leaving the bad cooking of his hotel or boarding house, with the absence of all home comforts, to walk into the parlor web which the cunning spider-lobbyist weaves for him.¹¹

In almost every case the lobbyist was either the creature of some special commercial interest seeking support from the public treasury or else a professional who acted as an agent for persons having private claims against the government. In either case the methods used were underhand and generally corrupt. There are lurid accounts of the employment of women to coöperate with the regular lobbyists in a concerted attack upon congressmen.

¹¹ Poore, II. 513-15.

The situation at the capital was such that the citizen with a claim against the government, was forced in most cases to put the matter into the hands of a professional lobbyist, if he expected to bring his suit to a successful issue. In a book published during this period the activities of the lobbyists are described as follows:

Officials are approached in every imaginable way, and if no direct bribe is offered, the intriguer endeavors, generally with success, to gain the confidence and friendship of the party against whom his arts are directed. This accomplished, he broaches his scheme so delicately, and presses it so skillfully, that the official is won over before he knows it. If the man fails, the female lobbyist is called in to exert her arts, which are more potent than those of the sterner sex. Congressmen and officials are famous as being the most susceptible men in the world, and the fair charmer is generally successful. Men in public life are very obliging when they choose to be, and these women know how to win favors from them.¹⁵

This same account then proceeds to tell of the so-called Hotel Women of the Lobby; "vampires" who took up their abode at fashionable hostelrys and awaited the coming of the guileless congressman. Their expenses were paid by the lobby, and the women in turn were to persuade the congressman to support certain measures. On this same point, James Bryce states:

There is . . . a less auspicious sphere of political action into which women have found their way at the national capital. The solicitation of members of a legislature with a view to the passing of bills, especially private bills, and to the obtaining of places, has become a profession there, and the persuasive assiduity which had long been recognized by poets as characteristic of the female sex, has made them widely employed and efficient in this work.¹⁶

This type of lobbyist was supplemented by representatives of private interests. Instead of relying upon the lobbyist entirely, the great national financial groups found that results could be obtained by recruiting directly to their service members of the House or Senate. There were congressmen who represented steel, or coal, meat, timber, or the railroads.¹⁷ For example, in 1894

¹⁵ Edward Winslow Martin, *Behind the scenes in Washington*, 221.

¹⁶ Bryce, II, 732. He states elsewhere: "Women are said to be among the most active and successful lobbyists at Washington."—I, 681.

¹⁷ Ostrogorski, *Democracy and political parties*, 182-83.

the newspapers recognized this situation by generally referring to the senators who had betrayed their party on the sugar schedule as the "Senators from Havemeyer," the sugar "baron."¹⁸ Here was a system very effective for carrying out the wishes of the "interests," but very difficult to trace. Senators were usually selected to be the servants of the "trusts."¹⁹

This abuse has largely ceased to exist. To-day senators cannot be pointed out as the definite spokesmen of some great corporation. The member of Congress who acts as the representative of a trust seeking special privilege is rapidly disappearing.

It must not be supposed that private corporations no longer have their representatives in the capital, for they do.²⁰ At the present time these lobbyists no longer parade so boldly as they once did. Now they operate quietly in carrying on the traditions of the past. Some few still have their hotel suites,²¹ their champagne parties, and their one or more subservient congressmen. However, the days of their glory are passed. William Allen White²² considers them a "bandy-legged tribe" in comparison with their new predecessors. He is right. These old lobbyists have been succeeded by a later and more effective type.

The Social Lobby. In the development of the lobby, as in every other evolutionary process, remnants of the older types are to be found with the newer forms. There are yet a few lobbyists of the old school about the capital, although their influence is entirely negligible. Moreover, there is another survival of the good old days that still plays a part in the work of the newer lobby in Washington. This is known as the "Social lobby." It has had a long and merry past, and is even now a factor to be reckoned with in Washington.²³

¹⁸ C. S. Thomas, My adventures with the sugar lobby, *World's Work*, September, 1913, XXVI, 540-49.

¹⁹ David Graham Phillips, Treason of the senate, *Cosmopolitan* of March-November, 1906, XL.

²⁰ For example, the "counsel" for Armour and Company is found in the membership of the Monday Lunch Club.

²¹ Law-making by means of dinners, *Literary Digest*, July 16, 1927, XCIV, pp. 46-48.

²² William Allen White, Politics; the citizen's business, 13.

²³ Up against the social lobby, *Literary Digest*, February 20, 1926, LXXXVIII, pp. 54-56; and Women replace men as lobbyists, *Current Opinion*, February, 1925, LXXVIII, p. 208.

It is interesting to recall that Washington would not be where it is to-day were it not for this institution. The city was actually founded by a social lobby. Jefferson and his fellow Virginians greatly desired to have the seat of government on the banks of the Potomac. Hamilton and his neighbors wished to have the capital city in some place more accessible to the delegates from the northern states. Even greater, however, was the desire of the first Secretary of the Treasury to have the national government assume the indebtedness of the states. The astute Mr. Jefferson accordingly arranged a dinner party, at which he brought together the assumptionists and advocates of the Washington site for the capital. A little discussion took place, a little log-rolling ensued, and both sides won: to Hamilton, the state debts; to Jefferson, the capital on the Potomac.²⁴

Social lobbying began with the history of Washington and has remained ever since. In the past the lobbyist had the alternative of persuading and cajoling through social tactics, or corrupting by bribery. To-day the situation is different.²⁵ The lobbyist has cleaner and more effective methods. Persuasion through social tactics is still retained, though the entertainment does not consist of the discussion of measures in Congress. An attempt is made rather to break down animosities by bringing political enemies together in a friendly social atmosphere.²⁶ There is a certain well-known senator, for example, who is a great poker fan. There is nothing he enjoys so much as a good poker session, but to find the proper partners with the requisite money and the sporting proclivities, he must mingle with his political opponents. Many friendly games of poker, however, do much to remove the dagger edge of his rancor and dampen the fire of his zeal.

²⁴ Channing, *History of the United States*, IV, 79.

²⁵ Poore, in the concluding chapter of his *Reminiscences* (p. 525), noted the change for the better that was taking place in Cleveland's first administration. He states:

"The time was when the 'Rex Vestiari,' as the King of the Lobby styled himself on a silver cup which he impudently presented to a retiring Speaker, had no difficulty in assembling the leading Congressmen and prominent diplomats around his table to enjoy his exquisite repasts. But there has come a more vigorous code of morality, and society is now rarely disgraced by the presence of these scoundrels."

²⁶ See Selden, *op. cit.*, for interesting discussion of the new situation.

The congressman comes to Washington burning to serve the people and resolving to follow his course regardless of extraneous influence. Arrived in the city and installed in Congress, he finds himself calming down somewhat.

The maneaters come in from the far-away provinces athirst for blood. They go out like lambs. The list is a long one—Borah, Hiram Johnson, Cummins, Capper, Kenyon, Dawes, Blease, Brookhart, Couzens, Caraway, Shipstead, Heflin and Magnus Johnson. Many others could be mentioned. There seems to be something about the clubby atmosphere of the Senate that domesticates them politically. . . . Generally they never quite measure up to the advance notices of their intractability.²⁷

The social aspirations of the congressman's family have much to do with his attitude. The senator or representative newly arrived in Washington finds himself suddenly reduced to a position of comparatively little importance. He is just one congressman in hundreds. He is lonesome. Contacts are finally made with some social set, and the legislator unconsciously and inevitably finds his viewpoint on many political questions affected by his social environment. The few outstanding exceptions, as in the case of Senator Norris, are those of men who refuse to mingle much socially. All that may be fairly said of the social lobby to-day is that it demands a certain amount of political agreement as the price of social intercourse. If this is refused, the only weapon is ostracism. The social lobby is not organized. Taken as a whole its influence is decidedly secondary. The results, if any, are quite intangible. The lobbyists acting as the spokesmen of the great national associations have more powerful mediums for attaining their ends. They use the social lobby only incidently.

The New Lobby.²⁸ The Washington offices of the associations, societies, leagues, institutes, boards, and federations organized

²⁷ I. Robert Smith, in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, June 8, 1927. This fact is generally recognized. It is, moreover, a commonplace among lobbyists, Washington correspondents, and even congressmen, that social influences do play a part; a minor part, it is true, but not negligible.

²⁸ Secondary sources bearing on this same point are: Essary, *Covering Washington*, Ch. IX, pp. 172-96; Kent, *Great game of politics*, Ch. XLII, XLIII, XLIV, XLV, pp. 255-76; William Allen White, Ch. I-II; C. S. Thomas, *op. cit.*, *passim*; and E. G. Lowry, *Special interests new style*, *Saturday Evening Post*, January 31, 1920.

on a nation-wide scale to-day form the great lobbies in the capital. By comparison the representatives of corporations, the patronage brokers, the "wire-pullers," the crowd of old-style lobbyists pale into insignificance. The men with the power are these spokesmen of organized groups. Congressmen lend an attentive ear to their words. Often they lend a helping hand to their activities. These group representatives work in the open; they have nothing to hide; they know what they want; and they know how to get it. They work with precision and efficiency. The "old, sly, furtive, pussy-footed agents of special privilege trusts" have been pushed to one side. The great organized groups, which now in such large numbers maintain headquarters in the capital, constitute the lobby of today. They are the "third house of Congress," the assistant rulers, the "invisible government."

It is agreed among all those who watch the legislative processes at Washington that the old fashioned methods of bringing pressure to bear on Congress are now generally discarded by the effective lobbies. The causes underlying this change are worthy of note.

Causes of Change. There have been changes both in Congress itself and among the public generally that help explain this evolution. The change in the lobby is very significant. One of the immediate causes undoubtedly was the reform of the rules of procedure in the House of Representatives that took place in 1911. The new rules served to break up the small clique in power and gave the representatives generally more control of procedure. This was a blow to the old lobby. It was patently impossible to attempt to cajole or bribe an entire Congress. Another reform in the legislative procedure that tended to improve the methods of the lobbyists was the adoption on the part of Congress in the early years of this century of the policy of holding on all important bills, open committee hearings which the proponents and the opponents of a measure might attend and there state, frankly and publicly, their attitude toward the legislation under consideration. Only the hearings of the Appropriations Committee are now held in executive session as a general rule. By thus openly testifying before committees the lobbyists of legitimate interests can make their appeal to a much wider audience. Not only Congress but the

whole country as well may know their arguments for a bill. The frankness of the legitimate interests makes it necessary for the questionable lobbyist to assume a like guise. It is not possible to work behind "closed doors" to the same extent. The general public is thus enabled to understand more clearly the forces that are interested in certain legislation.²⁹

Following closely upon this reform came the Seventeenth Amendment. The Senate had been in disrepute and had suffered in popular estimation from the scandals that notoriously attended the election of some of its members.³⁰ It was looked upon as the guardian of special privilege. In fact, because of the "bossism"

²⁹ Woodrow Wilson, writing in 1885, long before the improvement in the committee system had taken place, noted with alarm the opportunities the committees gave to the lobbyists. His words are worth recalling.

He states that the voter distrusts Congress because he feels that he cannot control it. "The voter, moreover, feels that his want of confidence in Congress is justified by what he hears of the power of corrupt lobbyists to turn legislation to their own uses. He hears of enormous subsidies begged and obtained; of pensions procured on commission by professional pension solicitors; of appropriations made in the interest of dishonest contractors; and he is not altogether unwarranted in the conclusion that these are evils inherent in the very nature of Congress, for there can be no doubt that the power of the lobby consists in great part, if not altogether, in the facility afforded him by the committee system. He must, in the natural course of things, have many favorable opportunities for approaching the great money-dispensing committees. It would be impracticable to work up his schemes in the broad field of the whole House, but in the membership of a committee he finds manageable numbers. If he can gain the ear of the committee, or of any influential portion of it, he has practically gained the ear of the House itself; if his plans once get a footing in a committee report, they may escape criticism altogether, and it will in any case be very difficult to dislodge them. This accessibility of the committees by outsiders gives to illegitimate influences easy approach at all points of legislation, but no committees are affected by it so often or so unfortunately as are the committees which control the public moneys. They are naturally the ones whose favor is oftenest and most importunately, as well as most insidiously, sought; and no description of our system of revenue, appropriation, and supply would be complete without mention of the manufacturers who cultivate the favor of the Committee of Ways and Means, of the interested persons who walk attendance upon the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and of the mail-contractors and subsidy seekers who court the Committee on Appropriations."—Congressional government, 189-90.

The just criticisms made here no longer have the same force, since the institution of public committee hearings and more especially since the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921. This act systemized the government financing and tended to fix responsibility for taxation and expenditure.—See W. F. Willoughby (1927), *The National Budget System*.

³⁰ G. H. Haynes, *The election of senators*.

in many of the states, it was not a difficult matter for great financial interests to get their candidates elected by the state legislatures. Such elected lobbyists were much more valuable than agents working upon the outside. The constitutional amendment that went into effect in 1913 definitely did away with these conditions.

Accompanying both these movements went a keener and more intelligent public scrutiny of affairs. The agitation necessary to bring these reforms about, stirred up public interest and centered eyes upon Congress. Champions of the people arose who were elected to office upon a platform denouncing all that the old lobby represented. These men made their reputations in Congress by flaying the special interests. The direct primary and the direct elections of Senators gave the people more power over their representatives. Men were not reelected unless they made more than a pretext of serving the general interests of the majority of their constituents. Moreover, at about this same time in the period from 1902 to 1908, the activities of the "muckrakers" did much to attract the attention of the general public to the corruption in government.³¹ In the seven or eight years following, an enormous amount of reform legislation was passed.³² The period is referred to as the "era of social politics," and the so-called progressive movement affected both the Democratic and the Republican parties. Some of the legislation passed directly concerned the relations between the government and private interests. For example, the Hepburn Act, among its other provisions, restricted the giving of free railway passes. This had long been an insidious form of political corruption. However, the action on the part of government that had the most direct effect upon the reform of the lobbies at the national capital occurred in 1913.

Investigation of 1913. This was the extensive investigation³³ carried on by both a House and a Senate committee as to the

³¹ For a discussion and bibliography of the literature of this period, see Charles E. Merriam, *American political ideas*, 438 *et seq.*

³² For changes in the methods and structure of government, see D. F. Wilcox, *Government by all the people*.

³³ Maintenance of lobby to influence legislation, Hearings, Subcommittee, Senate Committee of Judiciary, 63 Cong. 1 sess., pp. 1-4; Appendix, pp. 1-4. For further source material on investigation, see: 63 Cong., H. rep. 113; Charges against members of the House and lobby activities, Hearings,

maintenance of a lobby to defeat the Underwood tariff bill. The matter was launched by the following statement of President Wilson which appeared in the daily press:

I think the public ought to know the extraordinary exertions being made by the lobby in Washington to gain recognition for certain alterations of the tariff bill. Washington has seldom seen so numerous, so industrious, or so insidious a lobby. The newspapers are being filled with paid advertisements calculated to mislead the judgment of public men not only, but also the public opinion of the country itself. There is every evidence that money without limit is being spent to sustain this lobby and to create an appearance of a pressure of public opinion antagonistic to some of the chief items of the tariff bill. It is of serious interest to the country that the people at large should have no lobby and be voiceless in these matters, while great bodies of astute men seek to create an artificial opinion and to overcome the interests of the public for their private profit. It is thoroughly worth the while of the people of this country to take knowledge of this matter. Only public opinion can check and destroy it.

The government in all its branches ought to be relieved from this intolerable burden and this constant interruption to the calm progress of debate. I know that in this I am speaking for the members of the two Houses, who would rejoice as much as I would to be relieved from this unbearable situation.³⁴

Within twenty-four hours after the promulgation of this statement the Senate took appropriate action. Congressmen were queried as to their knowledge of the lobby and as to their financial connections with the industries desiring tariff favors. Scores of witnesses were called. The testimony filled volumes. Sensational articles appeared in the *New York World* and *New York Tribune* from data supplied by a former lobbyist in the employ of the National Manufacturers' Association, which was the organization under fire. The House of Representatives took up the investigation on their own account. The whole matter was threshed out in the newspapers and magazines.³⁵

House Select Committee on Lobby Investigation, 63 Cong. 1 sess., September-December, 1913 4 v., Hearings, House Judiciary Committee, 63 Cong. 2 sess., March 17-24, 1914; and 63 Cong., H. rep. 570.

³⁴ Reproduced in Senate Hearings, *op. cit.*, IV, 3.

³⁵ Selected references to magazine articles on this investigation: *Literary Digest*, XLVI, 1257-58, XLVII, 3-5, 43-45, XLVIII, 742-43; *Review of Reviews*, XLVIII, 7-10, 334-38; *Nation*, XCV, 26, XCVI, 612, XCVII, 26.

Considerable light was cast upon the methods and activities of the lobbies in Washington, particularly the National Association of Manufacturers and to a lesser degree the American Federation of Labor. Some petty roguery was exposed, the reputations of a few public men were injured, some notorious lobbyists were forced to leave town. No regulatory legislation resulted, however, and in the case of the Senate committee no report was made. Nevertheless, the results were generally salutary. The House committee, in its report, reviewed the activities of the lobbies investigated and commented upon their methods. This constitutes the first and practically the only official expression on the part of Congress concerning the status of the lobby. The report clarified the situation and set forth what was regarded as a new code of practice for the subsequent activities of organizations. The following quotation summarizes the conclusions of this committee:

Your committee is of the opinion that any individual or any association of individuals interested in legislation pending in Congress has the unquestionable right to appear in person or through agents or attorneys before committees and present his or its views upon and arguments in behalf of or against such legislation; that it is the right of the individual and the mass to appeal to the legislator personally, verbally, if he sees proper to grant an interview, or in writing, if he sees proper to read it, and by education and argument seek to convince his judgment and his conscience. This we think is the true spirit of the right of petition guaranteed by the Constitution to the citizens of the Republic. To place the Congressman in a cloister to legislate, rendering him immune to extraneous influences, would be impossible, and if possible, it would be exceedingly ridiculous. But your committee feels assured that whenever any person or association attempts by secret or insidious means or methods, by either giving or encouraging the hope of other reward than that mental and spiritual exaltation which springs from the consciousness of having walked in the light of honest judgment and followed it to its logical end, or by threats of punishment to be vindictively inflicted, then such methods become a menace to the free exercise of the legislator's judgment and the true performance of his solemn obligation and duty, are improper and merit the severest condemnation.³⁶

This investigation did not for a moment do away with the system of lobbies, but it did call public attention to them and indicate in

³⁶ 63 Cong., H. rep. 113, pp. 24-25.

some measure the changing methods of persuasion being employed. Coercion through propaganda and the artificial creation of opinion were recognized as the new weapons. Moreover, it was shown that the bribery that had disgraced legislative bodies in the past was not the instrument of the modern lobby. In this sense the investigation of 1913 marked the close of an era in the history of the lobby.

Rise of Organized Groups. Having discussed the causes of the decline of the old lobby, there remains to be considered the rise of the organized groups of voters which to-day constitute the modern lobby. The reforms in Congress and the more enlightened attitude on the part of the general public toward political affairs serve to explain in some measure the decline of the old methods of influencing legislation. But they do not explain why organized groups should approach Congress at the present time. As was indicated in the introductory chapter there appears to be arising a new spirit of socialization among men and a tendency to combine in groups for their common interest. However, the fact that these groups, as groups, are taking a very active interest in government does not necessarily follow from the mere fact of their organization into units. That the national government has greatly extended its activities serves to establish many contacts with the citizen, but it does not determine the method whereby the citizen shall meet these contacts. The political party in the past has been the recognized agency through which the voter acted to have the government adopt one policy or reject another. It is still the chief agency, but it is not the organization that initiates programs or creates policies. It is the mere broker that accepts the planks of organized interests that promise to insure the most votes. The party puts up the candidates and measures that seem most likely to win elections. A democracy must have means of expressing the opinions and beliefs held by the citizens. Non-partisan associations of voters are meeting this need. Perhaps the chief explanation for the rise of these organized groups of voters, with an alert interest in legislation and politics, is found in the decline of the political party as a leader in opinion.³⁷

³⁷ For discussion on the breakdown of political parties and the rise of organized groups, see Stuart A. Rice, *Farmers and workers in American politics*, ch. I, "Realignment of forces in American politics."

Limitations upon the American Political Party in Its Representative Capacity. The dilemma in which the political parties find themselves is to a large extent inherent within the political system in this country. They could not help themselves if they tried. Political conditions are in a constant state of flux, and as one form of representation declines, another arises. The party itself came about through this process of evolution. A legal machinery of representation was established by the Constitution, then the party developed as a means of working this machine. The party has definitely established itself as a unifying agency in government, but it is rapidly losing its position as a formulator of policies and a leader of political thought. Developments have taken place which make it impossible for the party to advocate and carry through a distinctive and coherent program. The explanation may be found partially in the structure of the government and to an even greater extent in the changes that have occurred in fields not directly connected with politics. These structural limitations may be considered first. The American political party is obstructed at the very source by two limitations that are the base rock in the political system in this country. Parties in England, France, and the other modern democracies are not checked from active political leadership as is the party in the United States. Two fundamental limitations debar the American party from the degree of leadership that the party is able to attain in other countries. One great boulder damming the stream is the Constitution of the United States and the other is the doctrine of the separation of powers.²⁸

Of late years one of the most important and arresting developments in politics has been the forces by which the Constitution of the country have been amended. Constitutional changes crystallize the outstanding movements of a period. They are of the stuff that inspires principles and political issues. But what part does the party play? A very minor rôle indeed.

Only under the most extraordinary circumstances does a party successfully sponsor as a partisan measure, on an amendment to the Constitution. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, forced through by the Republican

²⁸ See A. N. Holcombe, *Political parties of to-day*, ch. II.

Party under the abnormal post-war conditions, are really the only examples of amendments to the Constitution for which a party can be held responsible. The woman suffrage amendment, the direct-senatorial-election amendment and the prohibition amendment, together with the proposed child-labor amendment cannot in any sense be considered partisan measures. Party leaders want and must get quick results. Constitutional amendments are not worth the effort and the long sustained advocacy required on the part of their adherents. The majority required to pass them is too great for the party to muster under ordinary circumstances. It is, doubtless, just as well that the changes in the fundamental law of the land are not made the subject of partisan legislation. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that the political party plays a negligible part in constitution amending.

The other fundamental limitation discouraging the party in carrying out a definite program is the concept of the separation of powers upon which the government is founded. The Executive in theory carries out the laws; Congress legislates. There is no direct control by the Executive over the course of legislation. The President cannot put through any program of legislation unless a majority in Congress is in agreement with him. Even then there is not the same direct responsible and personal leadership such as is to be had under a parliamentary government. There is no guarantee that the executive branch will command a majority in the legislative bodies. Should the President and the majority in Congress be of a different party, questions may remain undecided and the wheels of government arrested. These inherent difficulties in our system of government are too well known to require more than a passing reference, and that merely to indicate the obstacles that lie in the way of a party putting through a definite legislative program.

When considering the rôle of the party in the United States, it is well to keep in mind these limitations to its activities. They do narrow the field, but they do not entirely explain the lack of difference and the absence of effective leadership in the parties.

A partial explanation is found in developments entirely beyond the control of the party but which have restricted the questions with which they may deal. For example, the growth of cities may be taken. This movement has resulted in a cleavage between the

people of the rural and urban districts that goes much deeper than the superficial difference in the mode of living. It deeply affects their thought and their ideas of government. Some writers have seen in it one of the most fundamental rifts in the social structure.³⁹ The parties, however, ignore the questions it brings forward. At present the Democratic Party is facing the problem of reconciling the city members as typified by Governor Smith and his New York following, and the country members of the solid South. The two branches have nothing in common except the party designation. This division in the party is a great source of weakness; it necessitates compromise; it prevents the party from taking an unequivocal position; it stultifies leadership. Nevertheless, it is the price a party must pay if it would attempt to represent a vertical cross-section of the voters and to stand on a broad national basis. The growth of cities is an economic development, but it has political consequences. It not only affects the Democratic Party but it arouses grave differences between the Republican bankers and business men of the East with their protective tariff as opposed to the Republican farmers of the Middle West, who are demanding relief from the government. Cleavages appear that cut straight across party lines, and the party must compromise in order not to offend its heterogeneous membership.

Another example of the extra-political influences that have affected the political party is the rising feeling that the government should take a greater part in the regulation of the lives of the individual. Paternalism in government has a moral and social background, yet its political consequences have been far reaching. The outstanding illustration is Prohibition. Here is an issue that arose outside of the parties, and in fact received its chief impetus from the churches. Yet it threatens to disrupt the parties. The Democratic Party is indubitably wet in New York City, but unmistakably dry in rural Missouri. On the other hand, the Republican Party is dry in rural New York and wet in St. Louis. The only way the parties may maintain the membership which clings to them from habit, from affection, and from a sense of party loyalty is to ignore these outstanding issues upon which their

³⁹ Lippmann, "The sick donkey," *Harpers*, September, 1927, CLV, 415-21.

followers are divided. The price, of course, is the forfeiture of leadership in public policies. This is inevitable with the parties as at present constituted, and is due to conditions over which they have no control.

No set of principles is now elastic enough to stretch over the entire country and meet with the approval of the variegated crowd travelling under the party designation; no program save one of platitude and commonplace and homely sentiment; no platform save one of negative and universally accepted planks of old, well seasoned opinion. Negative programs are the only feasible ones for parties to advocate, simply because of the fact that American parties are national political organizations. They try to line up opinion all over the country. The United States is a huge area, and geographic, economic, and traditional differences make the building of a platform that will please all sections a well nigh impossible task. As the life of the nation becomes more complex the problem of framing a broad national program that will not displease influential groups of citizens becomes increasingly difficult. The party wends its devious course through the contending factions, pacifying one group by adopting its pet panacea and playing off the program of one powerful group against the program of another. This progress of the party to its present position has been gradual. In the forties and fifties of the last century groups such as the "Loco-Focos," the "Know-Nothings," and the "Free-Soilers" are found. When a minority sees that the established parties have taken an attitude not to their liking, an organization is formed to give voice to the group's point of view. Anti-slavery parties appeared in the last century and associations such as the Civil Service Reform League, the Tariff Reform League, the Free-Silver League, and others. As the country developed, as society became more complex, more subdivisions occurred within the citizenry and more societies were formed. The political parties found it increasingly difficult to harmonize these diverse points of view. The minority groups arose to obtain from the government legislative action that they could not get through the political parties. They arose to express the opinions that could not be voiced through the regular parties.

Growth of Associations During the World War. Many of the national associations of the present day, however, are not primarily concerned with legislation nor with policies. Their basis is economic rather than political. These groups received a great stimulus at the time of the World War. The government at Washington, in recruiting the national resources in that time of emergency, found it difficult to deal with separate industries and individual business concerns scattered all over the country. The Council of National Defense, the War Industries Board, the War Trade Board, the Food Administration, and other units asked officially that trade associations be formed in many industries in order to simplify the relations with the government. The American Federation of Labor assumed a new importance, as did the farmers' organizations. The representatives of organized groups proved of value in a national crisis. In mobilizing the full strength of the country these special interest units gave the government cohesive and responsible organizations with which to deal.

The war rather served as an impetus to the further growth and influence of these groups. Widespread coöperative effort and the use of propaganda on a vast scale were two of the most important forces recruited for war purposes and their efficacy was impressed on thousands by actual experience. The war witnessed a great increase in the number of these group associations; but in many cases the end of the war did not witness their dissolution. Even those organized originally for war purposes discovered increasing fields of usefulness in times of peace. This trend toward organization among lines of common interest, whether vocational, industrial, moral, or social, was too fundamental to be affected by the end of the war.⁴⁰

The great value of associations was more evident. The power to be gained through organization and coöperation was realized. Since the war they have perfected their technique and improved their organization, tested their power, and come to some understanding of their potentialities. Present conditions foster and encourage the organized group. The chief factors are the improved means of communication that make possible organization on a large scale, the development of the art of propaganda that

⁴⁰ W. F. Willoughby, Government organization in war time and after.

brings in the converts, and the recognition generally that through coöperation and intelligently directed selfishness the group may most benefit. The mechanical means make organization possible; the temper of the times makes it actual. The evolution of the political party creates a distinct need for such agencies in the formulation of public opinion. National associations are an important part of our government.

The Washington offices of the organized groups of the country function as the embassies of their membership before the national government. Some actually call themselves "ambassadors." Theoretically they are but the spokesmen of their members. Actually they may not be as fully representative as they claim. At all events they are powerful and highly organized. They are responsible for much that becomes law. They have much to say, and little to hide. The old secret lobby is gone. Sculduggery has not departed from politics. No one is so rash as to state that corruption in government is gone. Teapot Dome still looms too large. Nevertheless, the present day lobby that works intelligently and effectively has found methods for attaining its ends that are open and above board. The legislative agent is quite willing to explain his activities to the curious.

CHAPTER IV

HOW THE NEW LOBBY OPERATES

Similarity of Operation. The great system of lobbying at the national capital, although composed of warring elements that represent the pro and con of almost every conceivable question of public or quasi public interest, has nevertheless a sameness in its operation that makes possible a discussion of general method. Every lobby no matter of what group operates in many essentials just as the lobby of any other group. With some exceptions all the lobbyists work along the same general lines. The following discussion will describe how the typical lobby works, and the kind of men that operate it.

Personnel of the Lobby. The statement has been made again and again by many writers of authority that the average legislative agent is on a par intellectually with the average congressman.¹ Some of those connected with the lobby itself unblushingly state:

“Man for man they measure higher in ability than congressmen.”²

“A congress composed of lobbyists, one would easily wager would walk away with that now sitting at the Capitol; it would out-argue it, out-maneuvre it, and in general up-to-dateness of business methods out-play it.”³

Such comparisons, although of no value *per se*, are nevertheless significant as illustrative of the attitude expressed in journals at the present time in contrast to the slurring remarks upon the ability and general acumen of the old style lobbyist, as noted in the preceding chapter. The change in the lobby has had the very patent result of attracting to its ranks men of honesty, courage,

¹ Frank R. Kent, *Great game of politics*, 270. William Allen White, *Politics: the citizen's business*, 9.

² Fred De Witt Shelton, *Unofficial representation at Washington*, January 2, 1926, CXVI, *Independent*, 17-18.

³ E. K. Stokes, *Your business in Washington: lobbying*, *Woman Citizen*, 7-8, (n. s.), IX, February 21, 1925.

enthusiasm, and ability as well as men of experience in political and legislative matters. Oftentimes the value of the legislative agent lies in his reputation for integrity and frankness among congressmen.⁴ A knowledge of affairs and a keen understanding of human nature are essentials to the successful lobbyist at the present time. Washington representatives are well paid for their services. In fact, fabulous stories arise from time to time concerning their actual remuneration. Gossip stirs about, whispering of fortunes passed over for services. For example, "there was a general rumor that one ex-congressman (a lobbyist) recently divided with a few assistants a million dollar fee for getting a retroactive relief clause into a revenue bill, thereby saving millions for his clients."⁵ Such transfers may occur, but they are the rare exception and not of general significance. Some time ago a statement was printed to the effect that one lobbyist received a yearly salary of \$75,000,⁶ but the lobbyists assert that after long and diligent enquiry they have not as yet been able to locate the lucky man. The chief labor lobbyist, Edward McGrady, is quoted as having recently stated that he knew one hundred lobbyists who received salaries in excess of that of the President of the United States. It is a subject well suited to wild surmise. One important legislative agent, in touch with many other group representatives, estimates that there are about three or four men getting \$36,000 to \$40,000 a year, five or six between \$30,000 and \$20,000, some from \$10,000 to \$20,000, with the compensation of the remainder diminishing down to the consecrated souls who just make enough to pay the office rent. There are a few frayed cuffs in lobbydom.

Ex-Congressmen. These representatives of special interests are recruited from the ranks of those they represent, from the legal profession, from the staffs of newspapers and journals, from colleges and laboratories, and from the halls of Congress itself. The latter, the recruits from "The Hill," are often drawn from that class familiarly known as "lame ducks": the congressmen who fail of reelection but return to the capital, despite this incapacity, to serve out the yet remaining months of their term and strive to pick up what political crumbs they may. They form a very

⁴ See Appendix 4, A.

⁵ Frederic J. Haskin, *Washington Star*, May 30, 1926.

⁶ Kent, 271.

important element. A considerable number of ex-senators and ex-members of the House, when their term of office has expired and they find themselves out of a job, turn to the many private interests with their organized agencies in Washington and find in them a ready market for their talent. The arrangement is a satisfactory one to the congressman and to the group employing him as well. In the case of the congressman (unless he proves the exception to the general rule) the mere thought of leaving the capital, once he has become imbued with the "Washington atmosphere," is very distasteful. When reelection fails, something must be done to continue the congenial life he has been leading. Governmental posts solve the problem for many, but there are not enough jobs of this sort to go around. It is here that the organized interests and the "lame duck" get together. Ex-congressmen by courtesy retain their privileges of the floor of the House or Senate, and this together with their experience in legislative matters gained from actual participation, and their contacts, friendships, and intimate knowledge of the members of the two Houses makes a formidable armory of knowledge and experience of great value to the groups desiring an able spokesman. Men who have held important positions in the governmental service have a prestige and an *entré* in Washington that cannot be otherwise acquired. There are those, to be sure, who refuse to capitalize their public position in this manner, but there are also many who have no such delicate scruples. It raises a rather subtle ethical issue.⁷

Senator Hale,⁸ for one, proposed in 1897 that ex-members be denied the privilege of the floor if they were representing private interests. Officers in the Senate have informed the writer that it is very seldom that a former senator actually makes use of his privilege of the floor at the present day. Some believe the desire not to offend powerful interests that may later provide the legislator with a lucrative job acts as a restraining force upon not a few members of Congress. This very natural tendency of the "lame duck to feather his nest" has been noted and denounced many times.

⁷ Frank R. Kent, in the *Baltimore Sun* of May 20, 1927.

⁸ *Nation*, June 12, 1913. See also resolution introduced by Representative Howard, in note on p. 255.

There have been any number of men, Members of the House or Senate, who were utterly unable to affect legislation seriously as long as they were Members of one body or the other. As soon as they were out of a job they became perniciously active in promoting legislation, and the very people who turned them out of office because they were not useful all at once take up the notion that since they are out of office they are tremendously influential. That opinion of the people is capitalized by these men. They have found out what was going to happen, they have notified the people back in the States, and they have collected commissions for the passage of legislation with the enactment of which they had no more to do than the man in the moon.

This is the attitude of Senator T. H. Caraway toward ex-congressmen. He concludes with this parting shot: "We are going to stop their activities just as the frost kills green vegetation."⁹

Representative Schafer stirred applause in the House upon expressing his opinion as follows:

It is highly improper for a former Member of Congress to have the privilege of the floor of this House and the cloak rooms and mingle with the Members during a period in which he may be the highest paid lobbyist in the country, perhaps employed by such an insidious organization as that which is now making such extraordinary efforts to procure the repeal of the Federal inheritance tax.¹⁰

The following prophesy made by Judge Kenyon when a member of Congress, is being fulfilled to-day.

Men go out of the Senate and men go out of the House and join up with these lobbies. There is going to be more of it in the days to come. The "general practice of law" in Washington is coming to be synonymous with "general lobbying."¹¹

Lawyer-Lobbyists. Thus it has developed.¹² The number of lawyers in the capital is truly astonishing. The ratio of attorneys

⁹ 70 Cong. 1 sess., February 21, 1928, Cong. Record, p. 3420. See comment on ex-member lobbyists; *ibid.*, p. 4893, March 14, 1928.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 215, December 7, 1927.

¹¹ For further discussion of lobbies and their regulation see Congressional Record, 66 Cong. 3 sess., p. 1244, January 11, 1921. "I have in my hand a list of gentlemen, some of whom are ex-members of Congress and ex-officials of the government, here in Washington in the interest of oil, lumber and other questions before the departments."—Statement of Mr. Kenyon.

¹² See Appendix 4, A.

to the rest of the population is higher here than in any other city in the country.¹³ Two thousand and seventy-two lawyers and law firms are listed in the Washington telephone directory. There are hundreds who never have occasion to go near a court. They act simply and solely as the spokesmen for the group retaining them. They are very able attorneys and their acts are quite within the legal proprieties.¹⁴ Organized interests have issues at stake and it is only proper that they employ the best counsel to state their side of the case. As the relationship of the lawyer to the organized interest is that of the attorney to his client, it is a matter of considerable difficulty to estimate just how many different groups are represented in the capital. The lawyer does not advertise the fact and will only admit it when questioned directly. There is no particular secret about it, and yet it cannot be a matter of general knowledge because no record is kept of this representation. Further complications arise from the fact that one attorney may act for several groups with allied¹⁵ interests.

Newspaper Men in the Lobby. Beside the former congressmen and the lawyers there must also be considered the newspaper men who join the ranks of the lobby in considerable numbers. As will be shown later in this chapter, one of the chief functions of the national association is to attract public support and approval through a skillful use of all manner of publicity. It is to this end that the groups in Washington find the services of a newspaper man of great value.¹⁶ Just as the "lame duck" understands

¹³ Richard Boeckel, Regulation of congressional lobbies, Editorial Research Reports, p. 16.

¹⁴ Testimony of witness: "I consider it the privilege of a lawyer, and sometimes his high duty, to acquaint a member of Congress, otherwise unacquainted with it, with the subject upon which he is expected to cast his vote."—House Hearings, Select Committee on Lobby Activities, 63 Cong. 1 sess., p. 1053.

¹⁵ "There are times when one lobbyist will represent not one but six or eight powerful groups."—D. Wilhelm, Washington Soviets, *Forum*, November, 1925, LXXIV, 743-51.

¹⁶ A newspaper man is not permitted to be a member of either the Senate or House press galleries if he is interested in any lobbying activities. Washington correspondents before admission to membership in these galleries must sign this statement:

"I am not engaged in the prosecution of any claim pending before the Congress or any department; I am not employed in any legislative or executive department of the government, or by any foreign government or any representative thereof; I am not employed, directly or indirectly, by

legislative procedure, so the journalist knows the methods of spreading propaganda to the best advantage. He has the contacts with the newspapers and he knows how to prepare his releases in such a way that they often are accepted by the editors and Washington correspondents as legitimate news items. It is a far cry from these able "directors of public relations" to the old style press agents, but both are of the same stock. In addition to these experts in publicity many of the great organized groups hire experts in other fields. Attached to many of these associations are experts on taxation, the tariff, labor conditions, and similar matters requiring a certain technical knowledge. Economists, statisticians, chemists and research workers are found necessary.¹⁷

Former Government Employees. There is one other type of expert that is found of very great value, to wit: the technologists and the skilled government employees who have received thorough training as civil servants in the federal departments. It has occurred time and again that such men have been persuaded to leave the employ of the government and join private organizations at a very much higher salary. In many ways they are useful to the national associations. They can sell to advantage the knowledge and experience gained on trade commissions, in scientific bureaus, and in federal departments. In most cases there can be no impropriety in their accepting positions with these organized groups. There have been instances, however, when the representatives of large special interests have been lobbying long and hard to obtain valuable concessions from the government, and when vast resources of oil, timber, or water power have been the stakes. It is then that the question may well be raised as to the propriety of these organized groups offering civil servants higher salaries and urging them to resign from the government in order to take advantage of the knowledge such a government employee may have concerning the concessions under consideration.

any stock exchange, board of trade, or other organization or member thereof, or brokerage house or broker engaged in the buying and selling of any security or commodity, or by any person or corporation having legislation before the Congress; and I will not become engaged in any of these capacities while retaining membership in the galleries."

¹⁷ Jay Hayden, Watchful lobbies and lobbyists that camp in Washington, *Literary Digest*, October 30, 1920, LXVII, 58-60.

The types of men discussed above form the substantial and influential element in the modern lobby. Attention should be called in passing, however, to an exotic and colorful variety of lobbyist that is still busy in the capital. They cannot very well be described in general terms, but their presence may be indicated. They all have their own methods of operation, and it is not possible to deal with a type descriptive of them all. These are the "fixers."¹⁸ Some of them are bluffs, pure and simple, who impose upon those looking for political appointments. Others, through the establishment of numerous contacts and a wide acquaintance-ship, have a certain amount of influence. They are a remnant of the past. They are material for the novelist in search of the Don Quixotes, the Micawbers, and perhaps even the Galahads of the present time. The lobbyists of real significance are those experts and able men of affairs who are connected with the great national associations representing organized groups with common purposes and concerns.

How These Associations Work. Having considered the operators, what, now, of the machine they operate? In the first place it is a vast machine and a complex one. It is highly organized, it extends its power far and wide; but it runs smoothly, powerfully, relentlessly, and is only to be stopped by another machine more powerful than itself. Of course, each organized group has its own apparatus, but there are general similarities of operation about them all that make it possible to outline the scope and the method of their work. Therefore, the typical national association may be considered, first, in its relation to the public; secondly, in its relation to the government; thirdly, in its relation to the political party; and lastly, in its relationship to the other national associations in Washington that are likewise representative of certain groups.

The Lobby in Relation to the Public. The organized group in its relation to the general public functions as an active dispenser of propaganda. By propaganda is meant the means of persuasion employed in a conscious effort to influence the thought and action of one's fellow. Propaganda¹⁹ may be good or bad, moral or

¹⁸ For a more detailed account, see Essary, *Covering Washington*, 176-77.

¹⁹ Carlton Hayes, *Essays in nationalism*, 61.

immoral; it is not necessarily a term of opprobrium. It is used here in no invidious sense. It is, however, the strongest weapon in the arsenal of the lobby. It is the instrument²⁰ that helps mold public opinion in the form the interested party desires. The one who can mold the popular feeling upon an issue is the one who can force the consequence to his liking. It is not strange then that the bureau of "information" is one of the most active of the departments in most of the national associations.

The propaganda work of a national association has two ends in view in relation to the public. In the first place, the effort is made to form a general opinion favorable to the group, and then the attempt is made to marshal this sentiment and direct its influence upon the administrative officers or the members of a legislature from whom favorable action is desired. Senator Charles S. Thomas has summed up the situation very well. He states:

Since in the United States, public opinion, and not Congress or the President, is king the man who controls public opinion will easily control the nation itself. And in recent years, the forces of privilege have aimed at doing precisely this thing.²¹ The men who seek special favors of Congress rely almost exclusively upon the manipulation of public sentiment. They do not bribe, or give free passes, or pay election expenses; they attempt to make the legislators think that the thing they want is the thing that the public wants. They do not go for the congressman except only occasionally; they send his constituents after him. The favor seeking classes apparently remain quiescent themselves; the real persuasion is done by newspapers, letter-writers, publicity agents, petition signers, public lecturers, magazines and telegram-senders. The new lobby has seized upon everything that plays a part in forming what is apparently enlightened and independent public sentiment.²²

²⁰ Harold D. Lasswell, The theory of political propaganda, *American Political Science Review*, August, 1927, XXI, 627.

²¹ That business and vested interests have realized the change that has come about and the necessity of working through public opinion rather than by direct pressure on the legislators is evidenced, in the opinion of some writers, by the fact that capitalists have taken over the newspapers as the servants of their cause. Books of interest in this connection are: Walter Lippmann, *Liberty and the news*; Edward A. Ross, *Changing America*; Norman Angell, *The press and the organization of society*; Upton Sinclair, *The brass check*; O. G. Villard, *Some newspapers and newspaper men*.

²² Charles S. Thomas, My adventures with the sugar lobby, *World's Work*, January, 1916, XXVII, 244-45.

Senator Overman is another who speaks of "the newer form of organized activity to mold public sentiment and to influence senators by means of public pressure from various sources."²³ Various, indeed, are the sources, the mediums, and the methods.

Propaganda Methods. One method that is used by practically all the national associations is the publication of a journal recounting the activities of the organization, giving the point of view of the officers, telling of future plans, and emphasizing in a lively and attractive form the main purposes of the organization. It is a rare association indeed that has not such a publication. To attempt to describe the other types of publications is to risk drowning in a sea of paper. It is to be computed by the ton. Pamphlets innumerable, on every conceivable phase of every conceivable subject, are sent far and wide; reprints of speeches and articles bearing upon the work of the association are distributed; periodical releases are prepared and sent to the newspapers; entire books are written;²⁴ research work is undertaken and the results published in elaborate and expensive form by many of these organizations. The movies and the radio, together with all the well known and approved methods of regular advertising, are made use of at one time or another.²⁵ Workers are sent into the field to organize clubs, to give lectures, to hold meetings, and to undertake campaigns of education lasting for a protracted period. For example, the American Forestry Association is planning a three-year program of conservation propaganda in the Southern states. The object is to fight the practice of burning over the second growth of forest and to educate the people to a better understanding of forest conservation. Workers equipped with automobiles, motion picture machines, posters, and vast amounts of "educational" matter will comb the country-side, talking, teaching, lecturing, and creating an interest in conservation. Masques and plays will be arranged in an effort to interest the youngsters. This is an example of a great organization impelled by a "cause" to carry out a public spirited undertaking. It illustrates the thor-

²³ Lobby exposed, *Current Opinion*, August, 1913, LV, 75.

²⁴ In one instance, 63,000 books, retailing at three dollars, were distributed gratis in this work of propaganda.—Cong. Record, 66 Cong. 3 sess., 135, December 9, 1921.

²⁵ See Appendix, 4 B.

oughness with which an ably directed group can function. At the same time it must be borne in mind that propaganda work is being carried on by other organizations in just as thorough a manner, but propaganda that would not be conceded to have the same unselfish motives behind it.

A form of propaganda which is rather extensively used and at times may take a very insidious aspect, is the distribution of what is called "boiler-plate." This is the cant term for an electro-type, a facsimile print which may be placed directly upon the press. No typesetting is required, the plate itself providing copy for an entire page or less. These plates are distributed among the rural newspapers and are often welcomed by the country editors as providing free copy in the most convenient form. The reading matter is designed to interest any public and is general in character. The agency distributing this material always includes an article or two concerning the interests that they wish to further. The insidious part of the procedure is in the fact that this propaganda is disguised as a legitimate news item, the source of the data and the name of the interested party not being mentioned. The unsuspecting reader does not realize that the stuff before him, news in outward seeming, is in reality distributed by an interested organization. The following statement of the water-power lobby is revealed:

We have sent out articles in manuscript to the leading newspapers and periodicals of the country during the past six months which have been extensively published. We discovered, however, that the smaller country papers could not afford to set the type of articles on general subjects, and would not do so, and when the American Press Association made us a proposition to send articles on water power to the country newspapers in the form of plate matter, we accepted their proposal and made a contract with them to furnish such service.²⁰

A further refinement of this method has been exhibited in some instances. This "canned copy" has been clipped from the country

²⁰ Cong. Record, 64 Cong. 1 sess., 12648-51, August 15, 1916. A good case can be made that all "boiler-plate," accepted without payment and without reference to source, violates Postal Laws and Regulations of August 24, 1912, Section 443, which requires that all matter for which money or other valuable consideration is paid must be marked advertisement. "Boiler-plate" pays the editor a valuable consideration when it fills his columns free of charge. See Appendix 4, C.

papers and sent to members of Congress in order to create the impression that it represented the local opinion of the community in which the matter was circulated.²⁷

Aside from these general appeals to win adherents, there is the more direct appeal through the form letter. This is a common method of the organizations interested in some causes. The economic and vocational groups do not often find this method necessary. It is resorted to when it is desired to find the public interested in some particular policy. The compiling of a huge mailing list is the first step. Of course, every organization has a mailing list of its own, but if the campaign is to be an extensive one or if the issue is one for which a fresh band of supporters must be recruited, it is necessary to have a very large list of prospective supporters. For example, the groups interested in organizing the opinion against the administration's policy in Nicaragua got in touch with the congressmen who had expressed themselves as opposed to this policy. The names of the constituents who wrote to these legislators commending them on their stand were copied. Also the back files of these congressmen were gone through, and the names of former correspondents known to have liberal views were obtained. A canvass was made of the mailing lists of other reform or anti-imperialist groups and more names secured. Even after thousands of names had been listed in this manner and the letters written, requests were inclosed asking for the names of other persons who might be interested in the movement. Theoretically the limit to the names obtainable would not be reached until all the possible sympathizers to the cause had been collected. As a matter of fact, it has been found in campaigns of this sort that the maximum number of people that can be interested to subscribe to the cause and pay dues to the treasurer seldom exceeds two thousand. For the average agitation it is difficult to get more than this number.

The Public Utilities Investigation.²⁸ The zenith of propaganda, both in elaborateness of method and extensiveness of range, seems to be very well exhibited in the recent investigation into the activi-

²⁷ Cong. Record, 64 Cong. 1 sess., p. 10973, July 13, 1916; Jerome G. Kerwin, *Federal power legislation*, 207.

²⁸ For excerpts of Federal Trade Commission hearings, see Appendix 4.

ties of the public utilities interests that was conducted by the Federal Trade Commission in Washington during the spring of 1928. In discussing the tactics employed by various organizations to form a public opinion favorable to their cause, it would, indeed, be difficult to find a better example of the organized group operating on a large scale and using all the facilities that a fertile ingenuity and a bottomless purse could devise. Not that there is any very essential difference in the propaganda methods of these utilities associations in comparison with other organized groups; if any difference exists it is one of degree rather than of kind. Propaganda activities are usually limited only by the resources of the organization concerned. And the public utilities have tremendous resources. The so-called power combine, however, has gone further and dared more than has any other association whose methods have come to light in recent years. In its excessive zeal to win support, its high-vaunting ambition "o'erleaped itself" and it found itself threatened with a senatorial investigation. The situation suggests that of 1913 described in the preceding chapter. In both cases there is to be seen an organized group out for selfish ends but attempting to exert its influence too blatantly and too aggressively, and being checked finally by the government. Purely as an example of the extreme methods that may be resorted to the revelations made concerning these associations are pertinent here. The testimony before the Federal Trade Commission brought forth some interesting facts.

The activities of the National Electric Light Association were shown to link up with the work of the propaganda committees of the various state public utilities associations.²⁹ It was estimated that more than a million dollars a year was expended for propaganda work alone. In some instances it was shown that sums were used to subsidize professors and public speakers in the campaign to influence public opinion against government ownership. The source of their remuneration was not made public. In New York state alone sums ranging from twenty-eight to thirty-eight million dollars were spent annually for newspaper advertising. While much of this money went in entirely legitimate appeals to the public to use more gas and electricity, the expenditure of such vast amounts might well be supposed to influence the editorial policy of the favored

²⁹ For the report of the Federal Trade Commission to the Senate, see 70 Cong., S. doc. 92, Parts 1-4.

newspapers and incline them more sympathetically toward these interests.³⁰

Further publicity was circulated by coöperating with women's clubs and by hiring well-known authors to write pamphlets, and in some instances entire books, setting forth the desirability of private ownership and operation of public utilities. The most subtle and dangerous form of propaganda was that introduced into the schools and placed in textbooks for inculcation into the minds of unsuspecting students. Sums were given for research to the end that government ownership be disparaged.

Such tactics, moreover, were not confined to particular cases but appeared part of a general policy. These manoeuvres were well calculated to rouse the ire of the press.³¹ Indeed, they present a spectacle of propaganda carried farther than any other organization has dared carry it before. As to the limits to which such activities may be carried, the Federal Trade Commission has this to say:

The right of industry to present its case before the bar of public opinion is unquestioned, provided such presentation is made openly in the name of the industry and therefore without a semblance of deception such as may be involved in subsidizing authors, teachers, universities, or research organizations in order that inspired textbooks or other materials may be given greater creditability because issued over the names of supposedly impartial writers, research organizations or institutions of learning. Where this is done the general public may well question whether the scientific attitude and integrity of established institutions of higher learning are not being undermined. Truly no greater calamity could happen either to industry or to the public than for educators or educational institutions, to become the paid mouthpieces of economic groups.³²

³⁰ Public utilities and public opinion. *New Republic*, June 27, 1928, p. 135.

³¹ See the following articles: Education by utilities, by D. Merritt, *Outlook*, CXLIX, 176, May 20, 1928; Utilities omnipresent, *Ibid.*, 248-49, June 13, 1928; Some letters are read, *Ibid.*, 365-66, July 4, 1928; Million dollar lobby, *Nation*, CXXVI, 554-55, May 16, 1928; Behind the power lobby, *Ibid.*, CXXVII, 57, July 18, 1928; Power trust sends the twig, by L. Todd, *New Republic*, LIV, 368-70, May 16, 1928; Public utilities and public opinion, *Ibid.*, LV, 135-36, June 27, 1928; Inside view of the power trust, *Ibid.*, 163-64, July 4, 1928; Power trust propaganda, *Literary Digest*, XCVII, 12-13, May 19, 1928. For full summary, see H. S. Raushenfush, High power propaganda.

The New York Times Index has full list of references to the news despatches. See especially "Public Utilities—Financing of Companies."

³² Quoted in *Literary Digest*, XCVII, 13, May 19, 1928.

Fortunately, however, the methods of the utilities groups do not constitute the norm of behavior. The typical picture is that presented by the great national organization with a continuing program and a well ordered army of disciplined and zealous supporters, who are kept constantly informed and instructed. Their interest is sustained by skillful propaganda. It is this cohesive and alert membership that constitutes the strength of the lobby, it is the opinion and the votes of these marshalled citizens that give the national associations importance in the eyes of the government. After the organized group, be it honest or deceitful, has rallied the sentiment of its membership and appealed to the general public, it is ready to begin action before the governmental agencies. Its arsenal is supplied with the ammunition of opinion.

The Relation of the Organized Group with the Agencies of Government. It must now be considered what use the lobby makes of this supply of public sentiment. How do the agencies of government become aware of what these organized groups desire? What is the mechanics of communicating this opinion? More specifically, what is the relationship established between the legislator and the lobbyist? The nature of this contact is determined largely by whether the attitude of the congressman is friendly or indifferent. Every organized group of any importance can look to some few congressmen who are "all right," that is, who may be relied upon to back the cause in which the association is interested. There are labor congressmen, there are farm senators and banker representatives, just as there are some wet members and some dry legislators in both Houses. In other words, the lobby can depend upon a few congressmen who are uniformly sympathetic to the purpose of the association whatever it may be. In some cases, a congressman may actually hold office in these organizations, thus increasing his strength and at the same time aiding the group.

Relation of the Group to the Congressman Who Is in Sympathy with It. These legislators who are "right" are invaluable aids to any lobby. Such an ally on the "inside" can watch committee appointments, urge committee members to report out bills, and speak for the group upon the floor of the House or Senate. Assistance of this sort is usually quite legitimate. Another way in which a congressman very frequently aids a national association

is by allowing it to use his franking privilege in distributing its propaganda through the mails free of postage charge. This practice has been going on for years, often to the abuse of the privilege. There have been occasional criticisms and a few attempts at regulation. An investigation of the alleged misuse of the frank occurred in 1906, following certain accusations appearing in a Washington newspaper. Concerning the frank it was charged in part:³³

That this privilege has been outrageously abused is a fact of universal knowledge. Congressmen load the postal cars with all sorts of freight, furniture, libraries, kitchen utensils, the family wash, pianos, poultry, barnyard animals, etc., without limit. They frank a cow, a wash tub, or a churn as glibly as they do a letter or a speech that no one ever heard. They go further; they lend their franks in large uncounted bunches to societies and propagandas that would flourish on the public Treasury, as they already thrive on the people's discontent. The whole system has been converted to the most abominable ends. It presents the perfected spectacle of graft.

Following on this investigation, though not apparently as the direct result, an act was passed on June 26 of the same year. The act provides:³⁴

Hereafter it shall be unlawful for any person entitled under the law to the use of a frank to lend such frank or permit its use by any committee, organization, or association, or permit its use by any person for the benefit or use of any committee, organization, or association: Provided, That this shall not apply to any committee composed of members of Congress.

The spirit and meaning of this law seems clear enough, but its effect has been nil.³⁵ It might just as well not exist. Indications are not lacking that members of Congress realize that this law

³³ Report of investigating committee and discussion, Cong. Record, 59 Cong. 1 sess., pp. 3876-84, March 15, 1906.

³⁴ 44 Stat. L., 1257.

³⁵ In 1874 this practice was protested against and its abolition threatened. Behind the scenes in Washington, 205. The Outlook, June 21, 1913, tells of more than a million documents sent out by opponents of free sugar under franks of Congressmen. It was then called no new abuse. For attitude of Congress on misuse of frank, see Cong. Record, 64 Cong. 1 sess., p. 13923, August 15, 1916.

is to-day honored in its breach rather than its observance.³⁶ Nevertheless, the frank is regularly and openly used by any organization that wishes to save money on its publicity and that can get a sympathetic congressman to cooperate. The representative of the group goes to an obliging congressman and requests him to introduce a bill. It makes little difference how minute a chance the bill may have of ever being considered seriously. That may come in good time. The object is to get the bill introduced and then considered in committee. Here the lobbyist presents elaborate briefs favoring the bill and a full discussion is obtained. The congressman may deliver a speech upon the bill in the House. The object in any case is to get a favorable discussion in the public records: the Congressional Record and the committee hearings. The lobbyist then procures thousands of copies of these documents published by the Government Printing Office at cost. He saves himself an enormous printing bill. The next step is to obtain an equally large number of envelopes bearing the frank of the cooperating congressman. This cuts the postage bill to the mere cost of the envelopes plus the nominal cost of having them stamped by the printing office. The legislator then gives leave to the organization as his agent to mail this propaganda.

Or the process may be simplified even more. The congressman³⁷ may arise and merely say: "Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include a statement prepared by the National Association of Any Old Thing." The propaganda forthwith appears in the Congressional Record. Reprints are obtained and franked. In this way the organization gets any release it desires printed and circulated by the government at a very low cost. It has now reached the point where the government is practically subsidizing the propaganda activities of some of the minor organized groups. Franking makes a little budget go a long way. It is only fair to state that sometimes even the larger and wealthier organizations resort to this petty practice, which borders on subterfuge.

In this relationship between the friendly congressman and the lobbyist the latter helps the former likewise. The frank is not given in vain. The congressman often finds the national associa-

³⁶ Cong. Record, 68 Cong. 1 sess., pp. 10392-93, June 1, 1926.

³⁷ This privilege does not apply in the Senate.

tions of great value. "Some of them," writes Senator T. H. Caraway,³⁸ "have been very helpful in gathering information and making it available to enable members of Congress, who are usually much pressed for time to get the facts in a condensed form." This service is one of the most important and valuable that organized groups are able to perform, and the extent to which they do so will be seen in later chapters. In voicing the unmistakable opinion of their membership upon specific matters of legislation, they are of assistance in informing the legislator who is anxious to satisfy any of the specific groups among his constituents. The helpfulness in this instance is unquestionable. Moreover, it is the chief instrument used to convince the congressman unconverted to the group's cause.

Relation of the Group to the Congressman Who Is Not in Sympathy with It. The experienced representative of an organized group in Washington is seldom in any doubt as to which congressmen are sympathetic toward the association's purpose and which are not. He must know the "hard-boiled boys" from those who are "right." And he does. It is an essential of the lobbying game to know not only the attitude, but also the antecedents of every congressman. This precious information is kept up to date and easily accessible in the offices of the more active lobbies by the use of the card index. There has been a great deal of newspaper comment upon the card index and much fulmination against it. There is no point in protesting it. The elements with which the lobbyist works, the chemicals upon which he pours the vitriol of opinion or the syrup of sentiment which he has obtained by the use of his propaganda, are the senators and the representatives. He must work with them and upon them, and to do so intelligently and effectively he must understand them. The card index is a laboratory for the study of human nature. When a lobbyist sets out to convert or to argue with an unfriendly legislator, the more he knows about him the better armed he is. It has been asserted that the card index has been used to blackmail congressmen to do the bidding of the lobbyist.

It is the constituents of a congressman that the lobbyist chiefly relies upon rather than any threatening or cajoling done in Washington. An organization spreads its network all over the

³⁸ Letter to the writer, August 21, 1927.

country, and it is through its local leaders in the towns and congressional districts that the pressure is brought to bear. The effective lobby is the one that watches developments at the capital and then speaks through its membership back home. Word is passed to the influential constituents in the various congressional districts who are members of the national association. These often see their congressman personally. The association's members of lesser importance are gotten together in meetings, resolutions are passed, speeches are made, letters are written, and telegrams are sent. Some of these communications represent the honest opinions of the citizenry. In some cases they most emphatically do not. A selfishly interested group at the capital may get other selfish associations in the states to draw up resolutions of sympathetic opinion to "humbag the public and blackmail members of Congress."³⁹

The lobbyists sometimes organize a letter-writing, telegram-sending campaign, and endeavor to smother the protests of the recalcitrant congressman under a barrage of mail.⁴⁰ Such efforts are usually futile. The communications coming in this way have a stereotyped appearance and phrasing that betrays their source. It is not difficult to tell that the mail was inspired and directed by an interested organization. Congressmen have learned to discount this type of attempted coercion. Some still receive literally bushels of this sort of correspondence.⁴¹ If their secretaries are efficient they give it to the janitor to read rather than the congressman. He never sees it. Stereotyped resolutions from local associations sent in bulk share the same fate.

There has been a later improvement in this mass correspondence that is said to be very effective.⁴² This device is known as the chain letter. Members of the national association write to five friends outside, asking that they in turn write to five others, and so on in geometrical progression *ad infinitum*. Besides passing the word to five others, each friend writes a personal note to his congressman concerning the bill in which the national association is interested. It is impossible for a congressman to recognize the source of such

³⁹ For an actual case, see Cong. Record, 64 Cong. 1 sess., p. 12649, August 15, 1916.

⁴⁰ Cong. Record, 68 Cong. 1 sess., p. 10006, May 31, 1924.

⁴¹ See p. 270.

⁴² A. S. Henning, in the *Chicago Tribune*, July 10, 1927.

letters. He has no way of ascertaining whether they are spontaneous or directed by a lobby. Mail of this sort creates the impression of a great popular demand. All these methods, however, are likely to possess a lack of sincerity that reveals their artificiality. The communications that carry the most weight are vehement letters from bankers, business concerns, newspapers, and leading citizens demanding that a certain stand be taken on an issue that vitally concerns their welfare. When such a demand is directed, timed, and pushed vigorously by the expert Washington office, no congressman who values his position will dare disobey. The lobbyist, as the spokesman of an earnest, coherent, and articulate group, is able to get from Congress prompt attention to his demands. The only thing that can defeat him is a better organized and louder-voiced counter-group.

The operations of the well-organized lobby do not cease with the individual congressman. Illustrations of the contact of national association and government bureau will be found in the chapters devoted to specific lobbies. The officers of a national association not infrequently represent the interests of the group before the United States courts, and from time to time they even approach the White House and confer with the President.

The Lobbyist at Committee Hearings. It is at the hearings held by the committees of Congress that the lobbyist to-day performs his heavy work. The legislative processes thus give the lobbyist a very excellent opportunity. In a government such as ours, where every bill introduced into Congress is turned over to a committee to be either killed or reported back to Congress, the committee hearings provide the first and the best opportunity for the friends and foes of the bill to set forth their arguments. As a matter of fact, it is in the committee that most of the important debate and discussion take place. The Congressional Record is full of talk to the galleries; it is in the committee hearings that facts and figures are dealt in, not metaphors and platitudes. Thorough discussion has been eliminated from the halls of Congress because of the press of business, and because of the limiting of the time for debate.⁴³ The result is that most of the real work is done in committee, where

⁴³ This, of course, holds more for the House of Representatives than for the Senate.

many of the real workers are the lobbyists. These are the men with the facts at their command. They are competent to discuss with authority technical questions which are enigmas to an average congressman. Without these public hearings and without the information supplied by these representatives of special interests, the committees would be unable to carry on their work. The legislative agent arranges the data to be brought forward and selects the witnesses of his groups. At hearings he at times directs them, introducing the speakers presented by his organization, coördinating and commenting upon their testimony. He is in Washington all the time, and he knows when the hearings will be held. On the other hand he knows the interests of his organization and he knows the members who can give the most useful information to the congressional committee. The day of the hearing the lobbyist has his witnesses and his briefs ready to present. He is truly a member of the "assistant government." Any argument or trick that will make a favorable impression upon a committeeman is employed. Even the value of sentiment is not ignored. For example, the union of postmen, when working for an increase in wages, got an old and weather-beaten mail-carrier to dress himself in his oldest and most tattered uniform and testify before the committee.⁴⁴ The National Education Association brought some housewives from the backwoods of the Carolinas to discant before the committee on education and the joys they experienced in learning their A B C's and writing to their "dear ones."⁴⁵

The bringing of witnesses to Washington to testify before Congressional committees has been taken further in the Seventieth Congress than heretofore. In fact, the feeling prevailed in that Congress that a new abuse had arisen. This weapon of the lobby was greatly resented. At the hearings held in November, 1927, before the Committee on Ways and Means, the activities of one lobbying organization in particular incurred the displeasure of the committeemen. This was the American Taxpayers' League. It was formerly known as the American Bankers' League, but changed its name upon the protest of the American Bankers' Asso-

⁴⁴ On occasion elaborate charts and graphic exhibits are presented.

⁴⁵ National Education Association, Annual Report of the Secretary, 1924, p. 33.

ciation. This League was instrumental in the organization of the National Council of State Legislatures. Two hundred members of the Council from forty-three states appeared before the Ways and Means Committee in an effort to have the inheritance tax abolished.

These witnesses were closely questioned as to who was paying their expenses. In some cases the money was from a perfectly legitimate source, but in other instances charges were made of "tainted money" being expended by interested organizations to bring witnesses to the capital in order to serve an ulterior motive. Said one member of the Ways and Means Committee:

In fourteen years, I think, of service on this committee we have never had a situation develop like this, in which witnesses were brought here by some organization to give testimony and their expenses paid. Usually when the expenses of witnesses are paid the Congress summons them and the Treasury of the United States pays them. This is the first instance which I can recall since I have been serving on the committee when large numbers of witnesses were brought here from States at long distances, like North Dakota, and their expenses paid.⁴⁶

The legislative agent does not confine his interest to the bill in committee. One enterprising lobbyist has calculated that a bill from the time it is introduced until it is safely enacted into law, has thirty hazards to escape.⁴⁷ If it slips any one of the thirty times, it is lost. Consequently, the lobbyist remains on the alert constantly. In some cases it is the lobby itself that frames the bill and that turns it over to a friendly congressman to be introduced. An illustration of this is the part played by the organizations working for federal aid in education. The whole history of this movement is tied up with two great national associations interested in education.⁴⁷ Many other examples could be cited of national associations that have drawn up, fostered, watched, and finally emerged triumphant with their new law.⁴⁸ On the other hand, they go after undesired legislation with as great a vim and kill many a law in the making. Whether killing or creating, their influence on the formation of bills is very powerful.

⁴⁶ Committee on Ways and Means, Hearings, Interim, 69-70 Cong., 644.

⁴⁷ See chapter on Professional Societies.

⁴⁸ See pp. 224-27.

The Relation Between the National Association and the Political Party. Although the national association representing the interests of a particular group of voters takes an active part in legislation, in the formation of public opinion, and in the processes of government generally, its connection with the political parties is very slight indeed. The mere thought of partisan politics seems to horrify every good lobbyist.

Their only contact with the political parties occurs at the national party conventions.⁴⁹ Then it is that representatives from many of the major national associations approach the resolutions committee at work upon the party platform. Each group representative has one or more planks which he insists the party insert in its platform. The party, anxious to garner as many votes as possible, obligingly considers any plank of any group that commands an appreciable number of votes. If there is a great counter-group with an opposing plank, the party in its wisdom ignores both groups for fear of alienating one or gives ambiguous planks to both. Unless the demand of the organized group is too extreme, the party is afraid not to advocate a measure the major groups put forward. If one party refuses, the convention of the other party meeting a few days afterward may accept the proposal of the organized group and the platform makers are afraid to take this chance. The groups get what they want by playing one party off against the other.⁵⁰

It must again be emphasized that the *raison d'être* of any national association is the promotion of a narrow set of interests which the members hold in common. It is for the forwarding and guarding of these specific interests that the organizations exist. They do not concern themselves with comprehensive programs such as national political parties advocate. The national association endeavors to keep its purpose clear and its members united for a specific purpose. To mingle in the wide field of partisan politics would mean the loss of this singleness of purpose. Moreover, the organized group is a minority group. Numerically they would be too weak to accomplish anything as a political party.

⁴⁹ William Allen White, *Politics: citizens business*.

⁵⁰ Kent, ch. XLIV.

Interrelations of the Lobbies. Although the lobbies thus deem it best not to compete with the major political parties at the great game of politics, they are not averse to a little conniving and bargaining among themselves. Perhaps it would be better to say that there is much coöperation among the various groups. Most of it is perfectly open and above reproach; sometimes it partakes of the nature of log-rolling. Associations are found to advocate bills which upon the face of things have only a very remote connection with the purposes of that organization. Yet this same measure is a very vital issue with some other organization. A little mutual helpfulness brings quicker results, and the time comes when the second organization may in its turn assist the first upon some important measure.

One frequent form of coöperation among the various lobbies is the joint legislative committee. By this means they get together to determine the best mode of common action on some legislative problem. An example of this is the meeting called by the National Association of Manufacturers to consider a reduction of the income tax. Fifteen leading organizations of manufacturers and producers conferred upon the problem of taxation and sent an invitation to 143 trade associations for an expression of their views upon the subject. As a result recommendations were made to Congress giving the consensus of opinion of these combined groups.⁵¹ This joint committee was formed for one specific purpose, but other joint committees will be considered later, which have a permanent existence and repeatedly speak for a combination of national associations.

There are instances where the lobby for a cause will direct the efforts of other associations, which, among other things, include an advocacy of this cause. For example, the National Child Labor Bureau directed the activities of nineteen other organizations in relation to the child labor amendment. These nineteen were accused on the floor of the Senate with acting on the advice of this one bureau and following its directions in regard to the child labor movement without examining, at first hand, the pros and cons of the issue.⁵²

⁵¹ Cong. Record, 69 Cong. 1 sess., p. 11887, June 23, 1926.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 68 Cong. 1 sess., p. 10006, May 31, 1924.

There are interrelations in employers' associations;⁵³ the Chamber of Commerce is a great combine of the most important business interests, the American Federation of Labor and the four railroad brotherhoods work in closest coöperation, the women's organizations all coöperate closely, and so do all the reform, pacifist, and progressive organizations.⁵⁴ There is a sort of free-masonry among them. There have been instances even of warring lobbies making an endeavor to work together.⁵⁵

The Monday Lunch Club. There is talk of the lobby trust,⁵⁶ and accusations have been made of interlocking directorates.⁵⁷ A more pleasing side of the picture shows friendly groups of lobbyists meeting socially and discussing their common problems. The most famous of these informal and friendly gatherings of legislative agents at the capital is known as the Monday Lunch Club.

The membership of the Club is individual and limited to Washington representatives of national, industrial, agricultural, commercial, transportation and financial organizations maintaining Association headquarters in Washington, or having a regularly constituted representative in the Capital.

The Club has neither dues, constitution, nor by-laws, and never takes a vote or passes a resolution, but has been maintained for more than five years in accordance with its original conception; (a) to promote acquaintanceship; (b) to "clear" as much information as possible of common or general interest.

Club members legitimately regard their work in Washington as in the nature of AMBASSADORS OF AMERICAN INDUSTRY LOCATED AT THE NATION'S CAPITAL.⁵⁸

The membership is composed of general attorneys, counsels, executive secretaries, publicity directors, and representatives from organizations such as the Portland Cement Association, the National Confectioners' Association, the Institute of American Meat Packers, Armour and Company, the National Petroleum Associa-

⁵³ E. E. Bonnett, *Employers' associations*, 494.

⁵⁴ A. S. Henning, series of articles in *Chicago Tribune*, July 10-19, 1927.

⁵⁵ Cong. Record, 67 Cong. 2 sess., pp. 1554-55, January 23, 1922.

⁵⁶ Charles Barrett, *Uncle Reuben in Washington*.

⁵⁷ Henning, *Chicago Tribune*, July 14, 1927; Norman Hapgood, *Professional patriots*.

⁵⁸ From mimeographed memorandum supplied author by chairman of the club.

tion, and the American Farm Bureau Federation. Altogether more than sixty important national associations are included. The club meets at 12:30 each Monday for luncheon. The extent to which these meetings have furthered the art and science of the modern lobby is impossible of ascertainment, but the community of interest sustained and the exchange of opinion effected undoubtedly proves valuable.

It has been the object of this chapter to indicate in a general way the methods used and the personnel employed by the associations of organized voters having representatives in Washington. The purposes and the means of operation of the most important and typical groups which maintain offices at the capital on behalf of their members remain to be considered.

CHAPTER V

AMBASSADORS OF AMERICAN INDUSTRY: CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES

Business and Government. Of the many organized groups maintaining offices in the capital, there are no interests more fully, more comprehensively, and more efficiently represented than those of American industry. Business maintains its embassies and mans them with an able train of "ambassadors," "ministers," and numerous functionaries. The manufacturers of every variety of products and the merchants of every sort of economic goods, together with the bankers, the builders, the underwriters, and those concerned with domestic distribution, foreign commerce, natural resources, production, transportation, and communication, all have their spokesmen in Washington. By "business" is to be understood the interests of those elements of the country concerned in creating and distributing economic goods, exclusive of the farmers and the "labor group."

However wide their interest, or however narrow their activities, there is not an industry in the country that is not represented directly or indirectly. All that so desire may make their voice heard in some fashion through the many organs existing for the purpose of echoing the opinion of American business. The great germ of organization which is implicit in the successful carrying on of business has likewise been applied to the national associations which business interests of every kind have deemed it wise to establish. At the present time a vast machine has been developed and is in constant operation, assembling, studying, and making articulate and effective the opinion of the business interests of the nation. It supplements the representation in Congress. A more specialized and a more immediate connection with governmental agencies has appeared necessary and has been established.

Business has always been obliged to take some interest in government. There has always been the obvious and elemental connection

brought about by taxation, by a federal currency, by the policy of a protective tariff, by the issuance of governmental bonds, and the many minor matters connected with the national treasury. Of late, however, particularly within the past two decades, there has been a greatly increased interpenetration of economic and political factors and an increasing intervention of government in the affairs of life.¹ Business, especially, has become cognizant of the effects and meaning of this trend. Industrial developments, the growth of cities, the further division of labor, the easier intercourse of peoples, all tend to bring about a greater interdependence among individuals for the common necessities of life. Following with what has been accepted as an essential correlation has come the need of legal regulation and governmental guidance. Witness the huge expansion of the power of the national government that resulted from the broad interpretation of the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution, while this in turn resulted from the vast growth in lines of communication. With the expansion of business and the rise of trade unionism the government is found intervening in business and taking a greater part in the economic affairs of the citizens through minimum wage regulation, child labor protection, anti-trust laws, and similar legislation that has taken it into fields once considered beyond the realm of legislation. Most of these economic and social developments took place during the latter part of the last century.

It has only been within the last twenty years that a body of legislation concerning them has arisen. Under the administrations of Roosevelt and Wilson especially, this interpenetration of law and economics was furthered. To cite a few of the more important legislative measures will illustrate this trend.² There is the Pure Food law (1906), the Employers' Liability Act (1908), the Hepburn Act, and the Mann-Elkins Act (1910), the Newlands Act (1913), and the Packers and Stock Yard Act (1921), the Federal Trade Act (1914), the Water Power Act (1920), and the Radio Act (1927). Further examples of the extension of the power of the national government that have brought Washington into closer contact with business are found in the establishment of the Federal

¹ F. Stuart Fitzpatrick, *Study of business men's associations*, 150.

² For discussion of principal social and economic legislation, see F. A. Ogg, *National progress*.

Reserve system, the conservation of natural resources, the institution of the income tax, the direct sales tax, and the corporation tax. These measures and the numerous bureaus and commissions created to administer them have a direct effect upon business. The hand of the government is felt more acutely than ever before. Business is forced to take an active interest in the activities of the powers at the capital.

There was a time when the business man carried on his relations with the national government in a spasmodic and haphazard fashion. About twenty-five years ago there was a certain journalist, one Joe Little³ by name, who made a decent living by providing business men with "inside information" of what was going on in Washington. Joe's only sources were those of any citizen who would take the trouble to read the Congressional Record, the congressional hearings, and other publications of the government. Business men, however, in their general ignorance of what was taking place in the capital were quite willing to buy this "information" from Joe Little, and Joe prospered.

The time arrived, however, when business realized that it must have some more systematic method of dealing with the increasing contact with the government. Other factors were at work at the same time. Economic forces made it necessary for business to organize as a matter of mutual protection. The panic of 1907 acted as a spur to this movement. Then in 1910 and 1911 the decisions of the Supreme Court clarified the law dealing with combinations.⁴ Again in 1924 and in 1925 the Supreme Court indicated more fully the scope and limit within which business concerns might coöperate without violating the anti-trust laws.⁵ The legal path is more clearly defined. The tendency seems to be for business in its contacts with the agencies of government to act collectively. As a closer relationship has developed between government and business, there has been a parallel development within the field

³ See remarks of "Uncle Joe" Cannon, quoted on p. 274.

⁴ United States Department of Commerce, Trade association activities, 304.

⁵ *Maple Flooring Manufacturers' Association et al. v. United States of America*, 268 U. S. 563. *Cement Manufacturers' Protective Association et al. v. United States of America*, 268 U. S. 588.

of business, bringing industries and concerns together into associations and societies. In the many questions concerning business and government, then, the former has not appeared as a heterogeneous number of individual concerns. Spokesmen have been appointed to represent the interests of the great industries. This has been a development of great value to both parties concerned. It gives clarity and force to the opinion of business and simplicity and directness to its relations with the government.

How Business Is Represented: Chamber of Commerce of United States. This organization of business has taken two forms. On the one hand, it is represented generally and according to geographical divisions. On the other, it is represented by special organizations speaking for particular industries. The first type is exemplified by the chamber of commerce; the other, by the trade association. Both the chamber of commerce and the trade association are represented before the government in Washington. In some few cases an office is maintained in the capital by the chamber of commerce of important cities; in many cases the trade associations are represented by their agents. However, there is one great national organization that combines within its structure these minor associations of business men. It is the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. The Chamber is the most impressive of all the exponents of business interests that function in the capital as ambassadors of industry. To be the accepted spokesman of American business is the objective of this organization. The primary and fundamental purpose of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States is not the achieving of certain immediate benefits for business but rather the developing of a state of mind on the part of the public, of business men, and of governmental officers and Congress that regards the Chamber as the "bona fide mouthpiece of organized business."⁶ This is a very significant attitude on the part of this organization. It is an outstanding example of the point of view of the agencies in Washington. It illustrates the conscious and deliberate aim of a certain group to maintain a machinery of representation that supplements the formal machinery of House and Senate. Within

⁶ Memorandum of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

the few years of its existence the Chamber has come a long way toward realizing this ideal.

The organization was founded in 1912. It has grown rapidly since that time and is fast assuming the proportions of an American "institution." As the avowed spokesman of a very important element of the citizenry and as perhaps the most elaborate and highly developed of the many agencies of organized groups in the capital, it is interesting to examine the membership and the general structure of this, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

Membership. The Chamber consists of a federation of commercial organizations. Its membership is composed of local chambers of commerce and national associations of firms engaged in similar industries. There are 1556 organization members, which in turn have an underlying membership of 853,616 corporations, firms, and individuals. In addition, there is, likewise, an associate and individual membership of 18,518. This membership comprises representative business firms in localities all over the country as well as the wide variety of specific industries that are organized into trade associations. Individuals speak through the local or industrial organization to which they belong.⁷ The local chamber of commerce or the trade association then voices the composite voice of their membership in the councils of the national chamber. To this end it is provided that each membership organization shall send a representative to the National Council.

Organization. This council acts in an advisory capacity to the Board of Directors, which has general supervision of the affairs of the Chamber. Forty-six members serve on this directing board, thirty-four of whom are elective and the balance ex-officio. Some of these elective members represent on the one hand geographic districts, while the others are selected from broad representative divisions of business activities.⁸ This Board of Directors in turn

⁷ This information on the organization is taken from a booklet issued by the Chamber entitled "The Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America," by D. A. Skinner, 1925.

⁸ "Of the 34 elected, 18 are elected from the geographical districts, 9 each year for a two-year term; 14 are elected by the business activities represented in the seven departments of Domestic Distribution, Finance, Manufacture, Foreign Commerce, Insurance, Natural Resources Production, and Transportation and Communication, 7 each year for a two-year term; and 2 are elected by the representatives of the local commercial

selects an Executive Committee of twelve, which exercises the powers delegated to it by the Board. Serving under the Board of Directors there is a hierarchy of executives, boards, and committees—special, regular, and departmental. The interrelations of the various departments are too involved and complex to justify an exposition here. The members of the Chamber are not men but organizations. The fact must be stressed that the individual business man in his relations to the national chamber exerts his influence through his local chamber of commerce or through his trade association. He does not belong to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States as an individual, his only power in that body being exerted by the delegate which his local trade body elects and sends to the National Council. Moreover, the delegates sent to the National Council do not direct the activities of the Chamber, but merely serve in an advisory capacity to the supervisory Board of Directors. It is thus seen that the leaders of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States are entrusted with a considerable discretionary power and are not directly responsible to the individual citizens that make up the membership of the associations represented on the Council. However, questions of major policy are only determined with the consent and concurrence of the organizations composing the national body.

Two-Fold Service. The departments of the Chamber are arranged in such a way as to represent the interests of all the business men of the country. These departments may be divided into two groups; namely, those that are concerned with business opinion in general and those that represent the main divisions of American industry specifically. These latter are nine in number and consist of the following:

Civic Development	Insurance
Domestic Distribution	Natural Resources Production
Manufacture	Transportation and Communication
Finance	Agriculture
Foreign Commerce	

Such a list forms a cross section of the major divisions of American industry. Each of these departments is under the super-

organizations to represent the Civic Development Department, 1 each year for a two-year term. The director representing each of these eight departments cannot come from the same main geographic division, that is, Southern Central, Eastern, Northern Central and Western."—*Ibid.*

vision of a manager experienced in that particular field who directs a staff of experts and clerical workers. Moreover, each of these departments has an advisory committee. Upon this committee are found the two members of the Board of Directors who were elected to represent the particular field of industry with which the department is concerned. The supervisory board of directors is thus kept informed of the activities of the various administrative departments. These departments make an especial effort to be of service to the business concerns included in the division of industry for which their department was created. In every case an important phase of this service deals with the contacts that arise between the departments of the Chamber and numerous governmental agencies. An examination of some of the operations of special departments will serve to illustrate this point.

The Finance Department is a good example. Its function is to "foster sound financial policies and practises in business and government, and to interpret banking and banking practise to the public." Accordingly, it renders detailed service on matters concerning stock exchanges, commercial paper houses, finance companies, savings banks, and the like. This part of its work, however, is subordinated to the task of dealing with financial questions that are "national or international in scope, timely in importance, and of especial interest to business." Of first importance would be matters dealing with taxation and with the Federal Reserve system.⁹

The department scrutinizes the operation of the agencies of the Federal government that deals with financial concerns such as the Treasury, the Board of Internal Revenue, the Bureau of the Budget, the Federal Farm Loan Board, the Comptroller of the Currency, the Treasury of the United States, the World War Foreign Debt Commission, the Postal Savings System, and the Committees of Congress that consider financial legislation. It is alert to keep abreast of the operations of the Federal Reserve System and all proposals for banking and currency legislation.

Contacts with the Government. When matters of concern to the business men of the country arise in the complicated and highly technical field of public finance the spokesman for the

⁹ From a pamphlet entitled "An experiment in democracy," p. 33, issued by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

"organized" business man speaks out for his employers. Moreover, the Finance Department coöperates closely with the numerous other spokesmen of organized interests that are concerned with any governmental action within this field of work. There are many groups organized to protect their interests in financial matters, as for example the American Bankers' Association, the Investment Bankers' Association, National Association of Credit Men, Farm Mortgage Bankers' Association, not to mention state and local bankers' associations, clearing house associations, stock exchange associations, and various committees of other national trade associations and local chambers of commerce set up to deal with federal taxation, banking, and currency.¹⁰ These organizations coöperate generally whenever their common interests are concerned. The Finance Department of the Chamber of Commerce is one sentry watching one interest of the many interests of organized business.

So it is in these other departments which constitute a "cross section of American business—from the raw materials to the consumer, through all the stages of fabrication and distribution." "Business has great issues at stake. It may lose or gain millions through the action of some federal bureau or by the passage or failure of some bill. The interests are systematically and expertly covered by staffs that understand how to attain their ends and what ends to attain.

Some of these departments of the Chamber are more concerned than others with matters dealing with legislation and the action of administrative bureaus. While this at one time or another may be the concern of all the departments, there are some that are chiefly active as clearing houses of information. For example, through the Department of Domestic Distribution, "contact is maintained with government departments, bureaus, and commissions in Washington. This contact creates a ready source of information for business men as to governmental figures and activities relating to distribution." The Department of Manufacture, likewise, works in "close coöperation with various government departments and bureaus, and with a wide range of business, trade, technical, scientific, professional, economic, and statistical organi-

¹⁰ Skinner, 17.

¹¹ Data on the functions of these departments from the pamphlet, "An experiment in democracy."

zations." This wealth of data and information is available to the membership and to congressmen and officers of the government.

Publicity Work. The Chamber of Commerce is organized in such a way that not only are all the important industries represented and studied by experts, but whenever occasion arises the interests of the business man are represented before the proper governmental agency. Moreover, contacts are established which enable the members of the Chamber to obtain the facts about any business matters in which their interests are at stake. In addition there are a number of services and privileges accruing to the membership which are not of interest to this discussion. It is through the nine departments, already listed, that the facts concerning certain specific divisions of American industry are presented to the government, to the public, and to the membership. In fact, a primary purpose of the nine service departments is to develop the facts about a question which will lead to a sound conclusion. These departments do have relations with the government and with legislation as has been indicated, but their work is first within the particular field of industry for which they are established. There remain three other departments that deal with the matters of general concern to business, irrespective of what industry is involved. These general departments are:

Field
Research
Editorial and Promotion

It is these three departments that deal in the most important element of the Chamber—the opinion of the membership. In fact, the primary function of the organization is to “obtain the matured judgment of business on national questions and to present and interpret these views to the agencies of government and to the public.” It is the function of these departments to aid in the marshalling of this opinion and in its proper presentation. They operate by several means. There are the branch offices that “keep Washington informed of the trend of thought and activity in the division and in so far as is practical give service, information and advice to members.” There is the field force of high-power salesmen who devote their energies to presenting the policies and purposes of the Chamber to members and prospects.

Even more important for the instilling of the ideas of the Chamber and the spread of its opinion is the Editorial and Promotion Department. The activities of this department are best described by a Chamber publication as follows:

Interpreting and promoting the program of organized business as crystallized by the National Chamber, is the province of the Editorial and Promotion Department.

It reports activities, anticipates referenda, expounds principles and gives wide utility to other Chamber activities. It serves as a liaison between the Chamber and the press. It supplies news of current activities of the Chamber and furnishes the results of departmental and committee research to daily newspapers, the trade press, organization publications, the periodical press and to member organizations of the National Chamber. It makes available for publication special material from the storehouse of business information within the Chamber, sought by writers on economic subjects.

All national news associations, most of the news syndicates and many of the country's newspapers are represented in Washington. These representatives are kept fully informed concerning Chamber activities. News also is distributed to newspapers through local chambers of commerce. A special trade paper news service is maintained.

The position of the Chamber as spokesman for national business opinion is now firmly established. Thus through local Chambers of Commerce, Chamber utterances on important economic questions are given attention by the press. Press comment on policies set up by the Chamber is closely observed by the department as indicating the trend of popular opinion in relation to these policies.¹²

In other words, it is this department that is charged with the important task of issuing the propaganda of organized business and making a study of its effectiveness upon the public. All the opportunities that Washington offers as a news center are taken advantage of, and a large staff, occupying an entire wing of the Chamber of Commerce building, is engaged in the activities of this department.

Another phase of the work of this department is "organization service." This activity deals with collecting data on the proper functioning of trade and commercial associations, their structure and their technique, their management and maintenance, their membership, officers, budgets, meetings, and all that has to do with

¹² *Ibid.*, 58.

commercial organization procedure. This information is obtained through research, questionnaires, correspondence, and personal investigation. It is, in turn, made available in many forms to trade associations and to business concerns contemplating organization or reform of their existing commercial societies. Thus is the doctrine of organization set forth and the path of converts made easy.

As in the case of all organized groups there is a periodical that is circulated chiefly among the membership. The Editorial and Promotion Department publishes the "Nation's Business" and circulates it among the two hundred sixty thousand business executives who subscribe to it. This magazine serves as an attractive medium through which to set forth not only the Chamber activities but also "facts in relation to national and international questions vitally affecting commerce and industry."¹³

The policy of the Nation's Business is:

- To create a national viewpoint for American business
- To break down provincialism and narrowness
- To stimulate community development
- To emphasize the value of organization teamwork
- To endeavor to promote a better understanding between government, business, and public and to interpret each to the other

This magazine is a very important factor in molding and unifying the opinion of the business man, in developing from a mass of conflicting interests a coherent point of view. Its interesting pages disseminate in attractive form the philosophy of the Chamber. Working in conjunction with the Editorial and Promotion staff, are the departments representative of American industry previously described. An essential part of their work, likewise, is the issuing of bulletins, surveys, and summaries; publications that compose in the aggregate an authoritative literature of business.

The Research Department maintains a service by means of which members are kept informed of the activities of Congress and governmental commissions, courts, or bureaus that are of concern to industry. The General Bulletin, which appears every week, contains specific data on such activities. Moreover, while Congress is in session, the Chamber issues a special weekly publication, the Legislative Bulletin, which follows "the progress of and gives a

¹³ *Ibid.*, 62.

digest of legislation having relation to business." There is another publication called Weekly Business Statistics, which gives an index of the industrial and financial conditions of the country, the information being based upon data compiled by the Department of Commerce. This weekly is displaced every four weeks by the Monthly Business Indicators. In addition to these regular bulletins, the Research Department also supplies specific information at the request of members. "Accurate and definite statements, capable of instant use, are available upon request, covering such subjects as action on bills in Congress, court decisions, rulings and other information emanating from the various branches of government."¹⁴ Every facility has been developed to keep the membership posted on matters of concern to the common interests of industry. The organized group is thus able to function in the protection of their affairs intelligently, efficiently, and effectively.

The business man, benefiting from these informative services, is enabled to arrive at an opinion on questions of national moment upon a basis of fact. The Chamber, moreover, has created a unique method of placing these questions before the membership and of receiving in a systematic form the consensus of opinion. It calls itself the "voice of American business," and asserts that "it speaks the business language in relation to national policies of essential concern to business." At the same time the Chamber claims that it merely echoes the majority opinion of business men. "It utters no ipse dixit opinions. It serves rather as the agency through which the opinion of business is canvassed and when canvassed is given point and emphasis."¹⁵ Accordingly, there has been set up an elaborate machinery by means of which the business men of the country may be approached through their associations and their sentiments obtained on national problems. This is done through a system of referenda, which operates as follows:

Referenda. One of the organization members, a local chamber of commerce or some trade association, or one of the departmental committees of the national Chamber itself, has a proposition which may be deemed by this unit as worthy of consideration before the entire membership of the Chamber. Such a proposition is thereupon submitted to the Board of Directors of the Chamber of

¹⁴ Skinner, II.

¹⁵ "An experiment in democracy," 10.

Commerce of the United States for examination. The Board¹⁹ decides whether the proposal is "national in character, timely in importance, and general in application to business." If it successfully passes this scrutiny, the next step is the appointment of a committee to consider the matter and make a report back to the Board. The question is very carefully studied, and it is perhaps one and sometimes several months before the report is completed. The committee appointed by the Board to consider the proposition is composed of men with an expert knowledge of the subject they are to consider. After ascertaining the facts, a report is drafted containing definite proposals and arguments in favor of these recommendations. In a word, it is the duty of this committee to develop the affirmative side of the proposition and report back to the Board of Directors.

Then, if the Board decides to proceed with the measure, it turns the committee report over to the Research Department. This department, assuming the rôle of the devil's advocate, studies the proposals and draws up a brief setting forth the other side of the question. The theory of the referendum system is not to influence the membership toward taking any point of view, but rather to get its opinion on a given matter after having presented both sides of the case. The completed work of the committees and departments is the referendum pamphlet. This contains a statement of the question and arguments pro and con arranged upon opposite pages. This "pamphlet," which as a matter of fact more often approaches the proportions of a booklet, is mailed to all the membership organizations. An interval of forty-five days is allowed in which the members are to consider the questions propounded and send in their decision.

Referenda are not conducted on specific legislative bills, but deal with underlying principles. The mandate of the Chamber is thus extended to a wider field and is not confined to the endorsement or rejection of any one bill. However, in a referendum on a broad subject such as taxation, a vote may be requested upon one of several proposals. In all of this voting, however, it is significant to note that a two-thirds majority is required to commit the Chamber to a policy.

¹⁹ An account of the referendum system may be found in Skinner, 9.

What methods the various organization members may use in reaching their decision is immaterial to the national Chamber. The method employed, however, must be legal under the constitution and by-laws of the particular association. In some cases the trade association or the local chamber of commerce appoints a committee to pass upon the referendum. All the necessary facts are included in the pamphlet and the committee after studying the arguments on both sides makes certain recommendations which are then voted upon by the members in meeting. Some member organizations empower their board of directors to pass upon the referenda without reference to the membership. They believe that a small selected body is better qualified to judge than a larger body. Upon the face, this referendum system seems perhaps the best way of obtaining a consensus of opinion. None of the other Washington group representatives have developed so elaborate a scheme for sounding the sentiment of their membership.

Criticism of Referendum System. Nevertheless, this system of representation has not passed unchallenged. It is pointed out that it is not the individual voters who pass upon the questions submitted to the local chambers of commerce or the trade associations. Representative Reed, for one, doubts the representative character of the referendum.

I have visited hundreds of these organizations, and I have worked with them, and I know the methods that are employed. Here is the way in which they usually handle them. The secretary turns them over to one man, or sometimes two. They sit down and work them out and mail them in, but they do not register the membership of the organization at all. This is true of hundreds of organizations that I am familiar with.¹⁷

It is true that some member organizations empower their board of directors to pass upon the referenda without reference to the membership. They argue that a small selected body is better qualified to judge a larger body that has not made a careful study of the subject. As to the method of voting the national Chamber has no say other than requiring that the member organization act within the rules of that member's constitution. However, the Chamber encourages the participation of the entire membership.¹⁸

¹⁷House Committee on Education and Labor, Hearings on proposed department of education, 69 Cong. 1 sess., p. 116 (1926).

¹⁸Skinner, 8.

As to the relative merits of these two methods of reaching a verdict, the national Chamber states "from experience it is known that less expert opinion from a large part of the membership will carry more weight with Congress than the better opinion of a small body. That is not strange when it is recalled that representatives in Congress are not elected by the people of best judgment but by a majority of votes."¹⁸ Moreover, it is largely for the benefit of Congress that this referendum system is used. It is important to secure the opinion of business men for the proper formulation of Chamber policies, but it is equally important to place in the hands of congressmen the results of these referenda. The task of putting the policies into effect, as determined through the referenda, devolves upon the Editorial and Promotion Department. As a group of persons seeking to influence Congress to take favorable action upon the measures sponsored by the members of the national Chamber, this department acts as a lobby. The referendum is analyzed and tabulated. The votes on each question, the vote of each organization classified according to the state, a summary of the opinion filed by each, an analysis of all pertinent data is prepared, printed in pamphlet form, and presented to governmental officers, senators, congressmen and to the public. Each senator and representative is thus enabled to see how each organization in his state or district voted on the propositions contained in the referendum.

The activity of the Chamber does not end in the mere statement of the consensus of business opinion thus determined. Although the Chamber states that "no lobbying is engaged in; no buttonholing of legislators; no pressure brought to bear,"¹⁹ still the Promotion Department does more than merely file with Congress the results of the referenda. It keeps in close touch with the progress of legislation, follows bills, collects data setting forth the position of the Chamber, and arranges for the spokesmen of business to appear before congressional committees. At these hearings the Chamber is seldom represented by its own paid staff. Instead, prominent citizens from various parts of the country are brought to Washington, supplied with data that the national Chamber has prepared, and brought in the committee rooms to testify before the committees of Congress. The Chamber has learned

¹⁹ "An experiment in democracy," 18.

that independent business men create a better impression on the legislators than do the paid members of the Chamber. These business men are usually members of a committee of the Chamber, but are not employed on the regular staff. In most cases they are bankers, manufacturers, or merchants of prominence in their home communities. They represent the type of men who are influential in the congressional districts, and their words are listened to with attention.

In addition to this work before committees the Chamber uses the many agencies at its command for arousing opinion generally. The powers of publicity are evoked and, as has been indicated, the Editorial and Promotion Department has every facility at its command for reaching a wide public. Even more important is the ability to reach an organized public, a group that is aware of the issues involved and concerned economically with the decision that Congress may make. It is this body of informed and interested constituents that gives force to the words of the spokesmen who appear on behalf of American industry. An intelligent presentation of facts and skillful direction are of great weight, but in the final analysis "the Chamber must rely upon its members to stir up local interest, to secure the support of the local press, and to see to it that their representatives in Congress know how deeply they feel and what is their attitude."²⁰ This support usually takes the form of getting the member organizations to write to their congressmen.

Summary. It is thus that the present day lobby gets results in legislation: a skillful staff of alert watchers and experts at Washington; a disciplined organized membership all over the country ready to give specific statements of opinion and back up these declarations by pressure on their congressmen. It is a system that has accomplished much in the past. An ambitious program covering a very wide range of subjects remains for the future. The national Chamber claims "an important part in framing and passing such legislation as the Budget Law, the act creating a permanent Tariff Commission, the Federal Reserve Act, Federal Aid for Vocational Education, Transportation Act of 1920, the Federal Water Power Act of 1920, the McNary-Clarke Forestry Bill,

²⁰ Skinner, 9.

the act for the reorganization of the Foreign Service, and the McFadden Branch Banking Act.”²¹ The program dealing with future legislative measures is added to from time to time, as referenda are held and the results made known. A compilation of the policies of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, built up through the referenda held during the last fifteen years, fills a book of over one hundred and twenty pages.

The fundamental postulate of the organization is summed up in the slogan: “What’s good for business is good for the country.” The Chamber defines “business” in the broadest sense of the word. Its program includes matters which upon their face are not immediately connected with that word. It has defined policies upon agriculture, education, daylight saving, immigration, national defense, civil service, recognition of China, relations with Canada, and ex-service men.

The Chamber deals with business in its general relations to government. It is limited by the nature of its organization and membership to a consideration of matters which have interests common to industry *generally*. The fundamental purpose of the Chamber is to establish itself as the accepted spokesman of organized business and as such to develop a relationship with government based on a spirit of coöperation. Organized business believes that government should not intrude in its sphere. Yet, in the many contacts which have developed between government and business, the spectre of undue regulation ever looms.

The Chamber views itself as the mouthpiece of American business, with the duty of coördinating the business opinion of the country upon the many questions in which the interests of industry are concerned. With the highly organized machinery for obtaining this opinion and the active participation in problems of current governmental policy, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States may well be viewed as an important factor in the present representative system of our government. Business has an impressive spokesman before the authorities at the national capital.²²

²¹ Policies of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, latest edition published, July, 1927, by the Chamber, 123 pages.

²² An equally impressive and active representative of the manufacturers of the country is the National Association of Manufacturers. It is a very important organization and only the limitations of space preclude a description of its activities. A general idea of the nature of this association may be gained from the chapter that follows, dealing with trade associations.

CHAPTER VI

AMBASSADORS OF AMERICAN INDUSTRY: TRADE ASSOCIATIONS

Specific industries are represented by their trade associations. In fact, the trade associations make up the largest single class of organizations instituted to represent the interests of a given group. A trade association is defined by the Department of Commerce as "an organization of producers or distributors of a commodity or service upon a mutual basis for the purpose of promoting the business of its branch of industry or commerce and improving its service to the public." This same authority goes on to state that the trade association has gained a place as an important American business institution by reason of its accomplishments in the promotion and self-regulation of industry and commerce. But Mr. Hoover laments, "notwithstanding the importance of this institution as an economic factor, generally speaking the American public is little acquainted with either the extent or character of its work."¹ Accordingly, it may be advisable to inquire briefly into the number, scope, and functions of this business institution.

Number of Trade Associations. The number of trade associations gives an insight into the breadth of the movement and indicates the extent to which the idea of organization has taken hold of the imagination of the American business man. Industry is completely "sold" to the idea. In a census compiled by the Department of Commerce a few years ago, there were listed approximately one thousand five hundred interstate, national, and international organizations which could be classified as trade associations.² There were found to be two thousand state organiza-

¹ Department of Commerce, Trade association activities, 1-2.

² *Ibid.*, History of trade associations, Appendix A, p. 301; Directory of national and international associations, Appendix D.

Commercial and Industrial Organizations in the United States, issued March, 1923, by the Department of Commerce, gives a full list to that date.

Another directory appeared in 1925: Commercial and Industrial organizations of the United States. Domestic Commerce Series, No. 5. A new edition for the current year is now in preparation.

tions, most of which would likewise come within the definition. Local organizations of business totaled seven thousand seven hundred, but this number includes local chambers of commerce, independent trade bodies, and the numerous little societies of business men represented by civic and luncheon clubs. The organizing process extends, however, from the group that must have a chairman and by-laws in order to eat lunch, to the vast coöperative leagues of business men controlling the key industries of the country.

This large total is a matter of comparatively recent growth. In 1914 there were about eight hundred trade associations. Then with the entry of the United States into the World War, the figure increased enormously. It is estimated that by 1919 there were two thousand in operation. Not all of these have survived. The latest and most careful analysis of the figures, as considered by the National Industrial Conference Board, states that "it is fairly safe to assume the existence of between eight hundred and one thousand trade associations of national and interstate character at the present time." Arrival at a positive total is dependent upon a strict definition of the term, "trade association." Organizations of business men differ in the functions undertaken. If the title is taken in its broad sense of describing the systematized coöperative endeavor of members of the same industry, the number of trade associations is nearer one thousand eight hundred.³

Their Variety. If their number is legion, their variety is infinite. The trade associations cover the entire range of the economic activities of the country. It would be difficult indeed to find an industry so obscure or so all important as to be without a representative association. They run the gamut from the American Automobile Chamber of Commerce to the Burlap Bag Dealers' Association; from the American Bankers' Association to the American Shovel Institute. They are found in every conceivable trade and business. There is the Fertilizer Association and the Flavoring Extract Manufacturers' Association. There is the National Onion Association and the National Gas Association; the National Ginners' Association and the Tap and Die Institute. Umbrellas and macaroni, soapstone and granite, silk and potatoes, pickles and

³ National Industrial Conference Board, Trade associations: their economic significance and legal status, Appendix A, p. 319.

ivory, oysters and radio, hickory handles and red-polled cattle: all these and myriads more have their national, international, interstate, world, American, or United States league, association, society, or federation. The White Pine Bureau, the American Hat Band Manufacturers, the Shoe League, and the Pet Dealers' Association, the Pig Iron Association and the Surgical Trade Association are all fragments of the astounding mosaic that depicts America Organized.

Each integral part of commercial effort has its trade associations. For instance, this is found to be the case in the basic industries. Coal, iron, steel, lumber, petroleum, gas, electric power, salt, and fertilizer are all organized.

Divide the nation's industries into their tasks of feeding, clothing, and sheltering the populace. The Silk Association, the Rubber Association, the National Meat Packers, and the National Sand and Gravel Producers' Association are but selected examples of the organizations that cover every phase of business. This same situation may be traced down through the industries engaged in domestic distribution, transportation, communication, foreign commerce, finance, and insurance.⁴ The entire business fabric exhibits a criss-cross of associations.

Not only are all the manufacturers of one particular commodity bound together, but all those concerned in the use of a certain raw material are also united, irrespective of the product they may finally manufacture. For example, there is the Waxed Paper Manufacturers' Association and the Card Board Manufacturers' Association, besides numerous other associations of different varieties of manufactured paper. However, all these allied products are federated into a great national league: The American Paper and Pulp Association.

Then, there is another important phase of association: to wit, the union of those concerned with the same product but with different steps in its progress to the consumer. The manufacturers, the distributors, and the retail merchants of some one product combine. The American Petroleum Institute is such an organization, including, as it does, well owners, refiners, and all those interested in oil in its journey from the earth to the engine.

⁴ F. Stuart Fitzpatrick, Study of business men's associations.

Still another type of trade association is illustrated by the Association of Ice Cream Supply Men. As the name implies, it includes the manufacturers of the many articles required in the mixing, freezing, and distributing of ice cream. The manufacturers of salt, buckets, machinery, flavoring extracts, and ice have interests that are wider than the mere supplying of the ice cream trade. Nevertheless, they have a trade association that watches this phase of their business. This type of association is but representative of a class of similar societies.

Still again, in case of the railroads, not only are the well-known and powerful brotherhoods found organizing every branch of railroad labor, but there are also more than a score of associations covering every angle of the transportation problem. The Railway Fire Protection Association, the Railway Real Estate Association, the Signal Appliance Association, the Air Brake Appliance Association; these are merely a few typical examples.

Such illustrations could be cited indefinitely; the essential fact is self-evident: business in all its aspects is organized. The trade association is now part of the essence of American industry.

The Functions of Trade Associations. The trade association has succeeded upon its merits. It fulfills a definite need in industry. There are so many matters in which coöperation is necessary and economic that a clearing house such as the trade association is considered desirable. The activities of the trade association include the following:⁶ Collection of statistics; simplification and standardization of manufacturing processes; institution of uniform cost accounting; settlement of trade disputes; establishment of codes of ethics; and the study of employee relations, problems in traffic and transportation, and commercial research. These are services of value to the membership and of interest to the economist. The trade association, however, in some of its important activities enters the field of politics. It has become the liaison between the industry it represents on the one hand and the general public and the government on the other. Viewed in the light of these activities the trade association presents some interesting questions to the political scientist. As the duly selected and qualified spokesman in matters of legislation and of opinion for a given industry, this association

⁶ See Trade association activities, *op. cit.*, for full discussion.

of the business man appears in a representative capacity. It speaks for a closely organized group, a body of the citizenry that is bound together by strong bonds of economic self-interest. It speaks with the full confidence of expert knowledge of the problems in its special field. It has a following much more alert and faithful than the members of any political party or the constituency of any congressman.

Public and Governmental Relations. Trade associations have their watch towers in Washington. Some are represented merely through their connection with the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Others retain attorneys to guard their interests. For example, the National American Wholesale Lumber Association reports:⁶

In line with the plan to be thoroughly prepared to protect the interests of the wholesaler, the well attorneys, D—, J—, B—, Washington, D. C., are retained as National Counsel. They keep the Association informed as to legislative and departmental orders at Washington and elsewhere which may be contrary to the interests of the wholesaler, and take necessary steps to counteract such situations. Their broad national experience has resulted in many valuable services to the wholesale lumber industry at large and removed numerous discriminations of far-reaching effect to the members. Their close touch with governmental departments assures quick and effective attention on all association matters in Washington.

The offices of over one hundred trade associations are listed in the telephone book of Washington. Whether the organized industry is represented at the capital by a national headquarters or merely kept in touch with developments through the medium of an information service, the trade association stands ready as the means whereby an industry may have its interests represented before the national government and the collective opinion of its members expressed. The National Association of Manufacturers made a canvass of 135 of the more important trade associations a few years ago to ascertain the general scope of their activities.⁷

⁶ Year Book and Complete Report of Proceedings of Annual Convention, National American Wholesale Lumber Association, April, 1926, p. 8.

⁷ National Trade Associations: a study by National Association of Manufacturers, 1922. National Association of Farm Equipment Manufacturers: "The association has three committees on National Legislation, a Traffic

One of the questions inquired into their interest in matters of legislation. The responses indicated clearly that the vast majority took a very active interest in legislation: some maintaining special committees for this purpose, others appointing them when occasion arose.

As time goes on more and more of these associations are being brought into contact with legislation and regulation. They are being forced to organize in order to handle the contacts between government and industry in a systematic manner. This does not necessarily mean that the government itself is instituting this closer relationship. In fact, at the Conference on Government in Industry held in 1925, Secretary Hoover stated:⁸

You would be a good deal astonished if you looked over the great mass of legislation introduced into Congress, which would lead into business, to find how much of that comes up from the business world. There seems to be a sort of an inherent desire in the human heart to regulate somebody else, and the business world is not free from it by any means. . . . Of the nine hundred conferences in the department [of Commerce] with the representatives of different trades, industry, labor and agriculture groups during the last four and half years . . . less than 4 per cent had been called at the initiative of the Department of Commerce.

Committee, a Traffic Department, and it also has local state committees on legislation."—P. 95.

National Ornamental Glass Manufacturers' Association of the United States and Canada: "A Tariff Committee has been maintained since 1913, to watch national legislation and oppose unfavorable bills. A freight rate committee does the same in that field."—P. 110.

Southeastern Millers' Association: "This is a prominent feature of the association work, and has been handled consistently since its creation some twenty-five years ago."—P. 126.

Northern Hemlock and Hardware Manufacturers: "Our committees appear before state and national legislative committees to present our views upon legislative questions."—P. 151.

Music Industries Chamber of Commerce: "A very important activity. We represent our industry particularly in taxes, tariff, and regulatory legislation and court decisions, particularly relative to sales."—P. 189.

National Association of Wool Manufacturers: "Handle national legislative questions."—P. 247.

American Cotton Manufacturers' Association: "Our most active committee is that handling legislative questions, particularly national, in respect to taxes, tariff, labor, transportation, etc."—P. 76.

⁸ Proceedings of the Conference on Government in Industry held at Washington, December 10-11, 1925, pp. 44-45.

It is only fair to state, however, that perhaps the chief reason trade associations take such an interest in government is the constant fear that governmental regulation of industry in some manner may be proposed. The trade association encourages self-regulation as a means of avoiding ultimate governmental control of business. This is a theme that has been emphasized alike by the Secretary of Commerce, the national Chamber of Commerce and many trade associations. Although it is the avowed purpose of many trade associations to keep government out of business, an interest in legislation nevertheless remains. In some instances their activity is largely confined to keeping the associates informed of the course of legislation.⁹ Examples of this type of service are afforded by the committees of the Associated General Contractors of America, the Millers' National Federation, and the Railway Car Manufacturers' Association. However, most associations are not content with this mere reporting service. Generally pressure is brought to bear on the public authorities upon a basis of the "collective needs and wishes" of the industry. Numerous associations make their influence felt in the framing of bills and in the progress of legislation, pending or proposed, which concern the sphere of their particular business. The activities of the Manufacturing Chemists' Association, the American Face Brick Association, and the Association of Dress Manufacturers may be cited as illustrative of the methods of many other such associations.

The best results, however, are not obtained through influence and demands, but rather through the presentation of irrefutable facts. This is the method of the more effective and powerful organizations. They maintain services which regularly collect and tabulate technical and economic data. This information is embodied in briefs and presented by able counsel to the committees of Congress or governmental commissions. Among the trade associations operating in this way are the National Lumber Manufacturers' Association, the Portland Cement Association, the Silk Association, and the National Coal Association.

The types¹⁰ of legislation with which the various associations concern themselves are as numerous and varied as the interests

⁹ National Industrial Conference Board, 292-93.

¹⁰ Trade association activities, 44.

of American industry. Although the measures usually attracting their coöperative support or opposition may be classified under a few general heads, such as the tariff, labor, transportation, taxation, and public control of industry, they include well nigh every enactment of economic significance. The emphasis of each association is upon these aspects of public policy which vitally concern the affairs of the membership.

Nevertheless, whatever the type of legislation with which the trade association may be dealing, the most efficient instrument is a clear presentation of special data on the subject. Facts are Congress' dearest raw material, and the trade association that supplies them is performing a service of real value to the legislators. In a government such as ours, in which so much important discussion as to the merits of a proposition takes place in the congressional committee, the representatives of industry have a remarkable opportunity to state fully their side of the case. Industry has thus evolved a system of representation that is much more efficient and more effectual than the system embodied in the law. It cannot afford to rely upon the congressman or senator who happens to go to Washington from the vicinity in which some of the plants of a particular industry are located. Business is not limited by state lines, and its interests are not bounded by congressional districts. The ramifications of an industry spread throughout the length and breadth of the country. A national spokesman for the industry is considered essential. Every business has sensed the need of such representation. Some have not realized it fully. The most important ones have taken in the situation and evolved the trade association with a legislative committee in Washington as the solution.

Perhaps the best way to understand fully the methods and the point of view of such an association is to examine in some detail a typical one. The National Coal Association is generally acknowledged to be representative of the well organized and highly developed form of trade association of the present day.

The National Coal Association. The history of the National Coal Association presents a development and operation that is duplicated by the organizations of other important industries. There are, to be sure, minor differences, but the story of this association

and an examination into its methods and the scope of its activities will serve to throw considerable light on the general range and purpose of national trade associations and their relation to the public and to politics. Like many other associations of a similar nature, the National Coal Association took its rise as a result of the World War. It was first suggested in its existing form by the Chairman of the Committee on Coal Production of the Council of National Defense.¹¹ At that time the coal industry was very loosely organized. There were a few associations of coal dealers, but they were confined to their particular districts and there was no national bond among them. However, these local groups formed the nucleus of the national union. The National Coal Association is composed of local associations, which in turn include the individual coal dealers and operators in bituminous coal. It combines the interests of an industry that comprises thirty per cent of the freight tonnage of the railroads, that totals half a billion tons in its annual production, and that extends into twenty-eight states. The interests of a great basic industry are thus made articulate and coherent.

The Association has nothing to do with local matters. These are handled by the forty-five local associations which make up the membership. It likewise avoids participation in labor disputes. It deals with the purely national issues in which coal must act as a unit and in which the individual merchant or miner is helpless. For the support of the national association in this work, the members pay one mill on every ton of coal mined. This produces an annual income of about \$200,000. The members apparently consider the money well invested, for the association has been growing steadily, its position becoming stronger year by year.

Its Activities. The activities of the Association center in the offices in Washington. The executive authority resides in the Executive Secretary; the ultimate power, in the Board of Directors, composed of nine operators and coal dealers from all parts of the

¹¹ See Senate Select Committee on Reconstruction and Production, Hearings, 1921, for full account of the National Coal Association to that date; Reports of annual meetings of the Association, 1925-27, for further data; Senate Committee on Manufacturers, Hearings on publication of production and profits in coal, 66 Cong. 3 sess., p. 119 ff., for descriptive data on the Association.

country. The entire membership is informed of the general progress of the organization and the broad policies are determined at the meetings, which have been held annually since the inception of the association ten years ago. Here the reports of the various committees dealing with the phases of the organization's varied fields of endeavor are read, and resolutions adopted by the membership to guide the action of the central office during the ensuing year. It is a congress of coal.

Committees. The functions of the committees may be divided broadly into those which concern the industry internally and those which affect external relations. These first functions are performed by the Committees on Membership, Trade Information, Tax and Cost Accounting, Safety, and Marketing. The Research Committee also is included under this head. It has charge of the research in chemistry that is financed by the National Coal Association. Several fellowships are maintained for scientific investigation into problems in coal and its by-products. It is, however, the committees dealing with the external contacts of the coal industry that are of interest here. These duties are allotted to the Publicity Committee and the Government Relations Committee. As to the position of these two groups in the Association, the chairman at the annual meeting of 1927 stated:¹² "I know of no other activity which this Association has so important as this Government Relations Committee and publicity; the two things going together."

Government Relations Committee. This is the general attitude of the body of the membership, as reflected in their discussion of the work of these committees. The position of the great industries in this country at the present time is a defensive one. The business men of days gone by who looked to Washington for aid in the form of land grants and subsidies are replaced by industries that ask only to be let alone. In fact, the chief function of the legislative committee of the National Coal Association is to fight the regulatory measures that are introduced in every Congress. For example, following the anthracite coal strike in 1925 there came a renewed pressure for federal legislation on coal.¹³ More

¹² Report of Tenth Annual Meeting, 1927, p. 62.

¹³ Report of Ninth Annual Meeting, 1926, p. 112.

than fifty bills were introduced in the House and almost as many in the Senate. It was the duty of the legislative committee to follow these bills, obstruct them at every step of their progress, and keep the membership interested and informed of the fight. A weekly letter was prepared telling of the legislative proposals and giving a symposium of editorial comment. Extra bulletins were also prepared that the members might be at all times in touch with the legislative situation in Washington.

Each year witnesses a similar situation. In his 1927 report the Executive Secretary stated:¹⁴

Through the major portion of the past fiscal year it was necessary to direct much of the attention of the Association to proposed Federal legislation affecting the industry. Coal bills introduced in Congress were studied carefully to see whether if enacted there would be any compensatory results for the burdens which they would lay on the industry.

The coal industry does not find itself alone in this regard. The efforts of other associations are chiefly directed toward defeating measures designed to bring business under closer governmental surveillance. The Executive Secretary further said that:¹⁵

As we have come to meet the officials of other associations and to learn of the problems of the industries they represent, a community of interest has been uniformly found. The coöperation of trade associations has been increasingly helpful.

It is interesting to note that even this mutuality of interest has been organized. The executive secretaries have their society: The American Trade Association Executives.¹⁶ In this way common problems may be discussed and viewpoints interchanged. The trade associations often work together in their relations with the government.¹⁷ Much of this legislation vitally affects the economic welfare of the association and the Committee on Government Relations must use every means at its disposal.

In the first place this committee is composed of representative coal men from thirteen states. "The Committee membership is so wide-spread geographically and composed of operators of such

¹⁴ Report of Tenth Annual Meeting, 1927, p. 13.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 16-17.

¹⁶ Handbook of American trade association executives, Chicago, 1924.

¹⁷ Report of Tenth Annual Meeting, 57.

acquaintanceship and experience as to really present a cross section of the industry.”¹⁸ This arrangement is to give it a national aspect and create a favorable impression upon the congressional committees before which it appears. As has already been indicated, the most valuable work of this committee is the presentation of data to governmental agencies. For example, on a single occasion \$13,000 was spent in the collection of information.¹⁹ They do much more than this, however. By keeping in close touch with their membership they organize and direct opinion back home; they get the coal dealers to see their local congressmen; they get important coal operatives to come to Washington to testify. But the efforts of the committee do not cease here. In commending the work of the Washington spokesmen it was pointed out at the last annual meeting by one of the speakers that the legislative committeemen “have gone to Senators and Congressmen personally, as I happen to know, and have sat down and have talked with these men and have shown them the weaknesses and the vices of many of the proposed schemes.”²⁰

The activities of the Association are not confined to an active interest in legislation alone. Industry not only fears and fights the establishment of national regulatory tribunals, but is brought into frequent contact with the many already in existence. In fact, one of the primary causes that brought about the formation of the National Coal Association was the necessity of maintaining proper relations with the Fuel Administration at the time of the war. During the first two years of the Association’s existence about \$75,000 was expended to keep the operators informed of the orders of this administrative bureau.²¹

Information concerning the Federal Trade Commission, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Supreme Court is sent to the membership. On occasion large sums are spent to retain the best legal counsel to represent the industry before these tribunals. In one year \$100,000 was expended for legal fees.²¹ The annual reports of 1925 indicated that legal fees continued to be a matter of large expenditure although very much lower than the war time level.

¹⁸ Report of Ninth Annual Meeting, 108.

¹⁹ Senate Committee on Manufactures, Hearings, *op. cit.*, 2116 ff.

²⁰ Report of Tenth Annual Meeting, 63.

²¹ Senate Committee on Manufacturers, Hearings, *op. cit.*, 2118.

In all the activities of the Government Relations Committee constant guard is kept lest further bureaus be established. The proceedings of the Association are full of denunciations of the administrative agencies that hand down decisions affecting business and industry. Its attitude is picturesquely expressed by the following quotation:

We are mindful of the fate of Gulliver, who, in his slumbers was bound by Lilliputian threads. We do not propose to go to sleep on the job and then awake to find ourselves bound by the Lilliputian threads, the red tape of bureaucracy.²²

In the forwarding of the work of the legislative committee publicity plays an important part.

The Publicity Committee. Both among the members of the Association and with the general public as well, the Publicity Committee carries on its campaign; among the former to insure coöperation, and with the latter to establish relations of general good will.

Channels for reaching the membership are not difficult of access.²³ The regular bulletins mailed directly and the self-interest of the coal operators insure ready attention to the words of the national Association. To reach the general public most of the usual avenues of approach are used, although direct advertising is avoided as being too expensive. The radio is one feature of publicity to which the committee has given "serious attention." Twenty-five films captioned the "Story of Coal" reach one hundred thousand people yearly in every section of the country. Articles are placed in magazines selected to reach every class of reader. For example, in 1925 the Quarterly Journal of Economics, published by the Harvard University Press, carried an article by an officer of the National Coal Association. The releases to the daily press and to the trade journals, however, are relied upon to reach the greatest number of people. The committee notes in its 1926 report that "there has been a growing tendency on the part of the press to use these releases either in whole or in part, which indicates growing confidence in the Association's efforts." Likewise, public address

²² Report of Eighth Annual Meeting, 1925, p. 23.

²³ For full account of publicity work, see reports of the Publicity Committee in Annual Reports. Data herein from reports of 1925, 1926, and 1927.

is recommended as a cheap and effective mode of spreading propaganda, for it makes news and is carried by press despatches all over the country.

It is not alone the mediums of publicity that make the Association's work of particular significance. In reading the reports of the publicity committees two objects to be attained are emphasized. One is for the bituminous coal industry to court the general good will of the public; for their committeeman comments, "We do not know in what hour or how or where these friendly public relations will stand us in good stead."²⁴ The other is to advertise the "efficiency of the industry and its ability to cure its own ills." This effort is one with that of the Government Relations Committee to block legislation regulating business. Moreover, the building up of a sympathetic attitude on the part of the general public simplifies the work of convincing the representatives of the people of the good intent of the coal industry when its lobbyists approach congressional committees.

Conclusions. The National Coal Association has evolved an organization whereby a basic industry of vast importance is systematically represented in its relations to the public and to the government. This association is but typical²⁵ of many others that differ from it only in degree, not in essential method. The progress to the present situation has been almost haphazard. Where consumers have attempted to regulate industry by enacting legislation in their own interests, business men have been forced to organize in self-defense, and fight such legislation together. In other cases where politics has entered industry only incidently, the interest of the business man has been intermittent. The World War gave a tremendous impetus to the whole movement. To-day it is a rare industry, indeed, that does not have important contacts with government at several points.

To meet the changed conditions, duly selected representatives have been delegated. They have in fact become a very real part of government. Industries as well as geographic divisions have

²⁴ Report of Eighth Annual Meeting, 32.

²⁵ ". . . I think you are fully justified in taking the National Coal Association as thoroughly typical of the organization of a great industry."—Letter written to the author from the assistant to the Executive Secretary, July 23, 1927.

their spokesmen. The trade association has taken its place in the economic structure of business and has become firmly entrenched. Business has accepted it as a helpful agency. These associations have gone over into politics. They have become an integral part of representative government.²⁰ In shaping policies of government, in bringing to legislative councils the weight of their expert knowledge in their special fields, in synthesizing and directing the opinion of their membership, in arousing public support through skillful publicity, they constitute an element which the formally selected officers of government must reckon with in matters pertaining to legislation and administration. It would be hardy, indeed, to deny to any citizen or any organized group of citizens the right of presenting their views in matters of government which affected their interest. It would be a loss to deprive the legislators of the information that the trade association is so well able to present. Nevertheless, the functioning, the organization, and the viewpoint of these associations must be understood, lest their influence become disproportionate to their actual numbers and importance.

²⁰ For discussion of governmental departments and their relations with trade associations, see Trade association activities, *op. cit.*, 192-215.

CHAPTER VII

THE EMBATTLED FARMERS AT WASHINGTON

Headquarters Now Established in Capital. To-day the farmers are as fully and as effectively represented in the national capital as any other organized class in the country. From time to time a good deal has been said and written about the apparent inability of the farmers to present a united front in matters concerning their welfare. Events of the last six or seven years have clearly demonstrated the fallacy of such assertions, however. Sufficient time has now elapsed since the existent farmers' organizations took up their headquarters in the capital to make it safe to state that the organized farmer has come to Washington to stay. The farmers are drawn up in battle array for the protection of their interests.

Review of Farmers' Organizations in the Past.¹ The present situation in Washington is all the more significant in the light of the numerous attempts made by the farmers in past years to get together for their common good. It will be recalled that the first important effort of the farmer to attain relief through organization and political action was the Granger movement that came into prominence in 1872. The spread of its influence was very rapid, and within a year organizations of farmers were established in all but four states of the Union. Many "farmers' clubs" were likewise formed. Together, these organizations went into politics as the avowed representatives of the farmer. Seeing that they could gain nothing from the established political parties and finding that their program was being taken up by progressive politicians, they decided to organize their own political party. They were known as the Independents, the Reformers, the Anti-Monopolists, Farmers' Party, and the like, the names varying in the eleven Middle Western states in which they were active. They had a broad progressive platform, though their immediate object was the passing of legislation regulating railway rates. In this latter project

¹ O. M. Kile, Farm bureau movement, Ch. II.

they were generally successful, but victory was no sooner gained than interest began to lag, and by 1876 the professional politicians had taken over the reform movement. The farmers' organizations waned politically and the farm vote, as such, appeared casually thereafter in support of movements such as the "Greenbackers," the Populist and the People's Party.

The organized farmers did not appear upon the national scene until 1890, when in the elections of that year the Farmers' Alliance fought the old parties and succeeded in electing to Congress three senators and fifty representatives, pledged to support the measures of the Alliance. Nevertheless, from that year the power of this group rapidly diminished. In fact, its importance as an agricultural organization ended in 1890.

The next combination of farmers to gain any importance in a number of states, started in a small way in Texas in 1902. It was founded to a considerable extent upon the remnants of the Alliance, a few local units of which still survived. This new organization was known as the Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union of America. By 1914 it was strongly intrenched in the South and Midwest and likewise in Oregon and Washington. Its chief functions were economic, particularly and the promotion of coöperative enterprise among the farmers. Profiting by the experience of the preceding organizations of farmers, it avoided participation in politics. However, like its predecessors, its organization was not made for permanency, and it no sooner gained members in one state than it lost members in another.

Such has been the history of farm organization. Until the outbreak of the World War the way of the farmer in coöperating with his neighbor had been a way beset with difficulties. United action for any length of time had seemed impossible. Here and there within a limited area the farmers had succeeded in working together. For example the Ancient Order of Gleaners has been operating in Michigan since 1894 and various Equity Unions have attained a moderate degree of success in other states, but organization on a scale approaching national proportions and on a permanent basis for many years seemed well nigh impossible of achievement. The history of organized agriculture offered little encouragement.

The Organized Farmers To-day. Despite the little hope offered by the past, the farmers to-day are better organized and their interests are more systematically guarded than ever before. The present situation, however, differs fundamentally from that of the past. For the farmers it is a new era; they seem to have profited by their mistakes. In the first place they no longer seek political remedies as they did in the seventies and eighties; and in the second place, their system of organization is greatly superior. Where the old "Grangers" or the members of the Farmers' Alliance constituted themselves a third party and attempted to win their points as a minority group, the modern farmer has discovered much more effective modes of obtaining favorable governmental action. Farm movements have reached their greatest strength at times of distress and panic. At such times grievances are most keenly felt and radical remedies demanded. The farmer usually combined with other malcontents on a platform of far-reaching reform. A Farmers' Party or a People's Party was set up, formed on class lines and declaring against the "money power." If the party won, as the Grangers did in 1875, the farmers gained their chief objectives and the party then lost its reason for existing. If the party lost, as the Farmers' Party did in 1896, the members became discouraged and withdrew their support. Victory and defeat alike seemed disastrous to the organized farmer.

One reason for this was the loose organization, the independence of the local or state units, the inadequate financial resources, and the lack of level-headed leaders who could hold the divergent elements together, once a membership had been enrolled. The farmer is notoriously independent and something of an individualist from the very nature of his work. Furthermore, the interests of farmers are by no means the same in different states. It was a difficult matter at best to get them together, and this, in fact, was only accomplished at a time of acute economic distress. Even then the organizations looked to the various state legislatures for relief rather than to the Congress.

Now the situation is changed, and while state organizations still look to their respective legislatures, it is upon the Congress that attention is chiefly focused. The futility of any solid accomplishment through the formation of a minority party has been thoroughly recognized and other methods have been adopted and successfully

tried. The successful party of farmers to-day is the national organization with a widely distributed and alert membership, self-interested, and prepared to pass on national questions from their point of view. The other requisites are a hierarchy of units reaching from the county and the district to the state and culminating in the national association, a staff of trained officers and experts, and a substantial bank account. Last and by no means of least importance is a suite of offices in the capital.

It is according to such a plan that the most important of the agricultural interests are established to-day. Among the organizations themselves, however, there are many differences. As in the case of business, the farm associations may be divided into those representing agriculture generally and those representing particular commodities. Thus, the fruit growers of California, the wheat growers of the West, the cotton farmers of the South, and the peanut planters of Virginia all have their associations. Some maintain offices in the capital, others send representatives when deemed necessary. Among the more important of this class maintaining offices in Washington are: The American Dairy Federation; the National Milk Producers' Federation; the American Sugar Cane League; American Fruit Growers, Inc.; and the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association.

Three outstanding organizations are at work all the year round in Washington representing before the national government the general interests of agriculture. There are, of course, others. A half-dozen might be named that exist largely on paper. There are some, as for example, the American Institute of Coöperation, that have nothing to do with the government. The three chief spokesmen for the farmer to-day are the American Farm Bureau Federation, the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, and the Farmer's Educational and Coöperative Union of America.

These three organizations appeared in Washington at the time of the World War, and since that time, with various fluctuations in their power and memberships, they have continued to speak for the farmers. Their activities and aims, however, have been so diverse that in order to understand these spokesmen of the farmer it is necessary to examine them in turn.

The National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry. The National Grange is the oldest association representing the interests of agriculture. It was first organized in 1867, attained sensational prominence in the Granger movement already referred to, and very nearly collapsed as a result. It was not until it withdrew from participation in politics and went back to its original purpose of fraternalism and social and economic betterment among the farmers that the Grange once again began to recover its strength.

It is a secret ritualistic society, admitting both men and women to membership and engaged primarily in community service, in aiding the schools and churches, and in educational activities. Perhaps its chief strength lies in the fact that in many localities the Grange meeting is the focal point of social activity. The National Grange has always taken an interest in national legislation and it is this phase of its work that is of concern here.

*The Grange in Legislation.*² It was in 1918 that the National Grange opened its legislative office in Washington. Previous to that time it had taken an interest in various legislative matters and had sent representatives to the capital whenever it was considered advisable. With the coming of the war, the contacts between agriculture and government increased, price regulation loomed, and the imposing of minimum prices threatened. Moreover, radical representatives of organizations purporting to speak for the farmer made their appearance. The members of the Grange decided that it would be well to establish a permanent headquarters in the capital to present properly before the government the point of view of the conservative land-holding farmers.

Since that time, then, the spokesman of the National Grange has placed before Congress the views of the membership on matters of interest to agriculture. The spokesman purports to present merely the policy of the membership. The Washington office collects information, issues bulletins and literature, and collects other material of interest to the local Granges. This material is presented as part of the program at the meetings of these units, and through discussion the men and women of even the most remote

² See pamphlet issued by National Grange: *The Grange in legislation*, also House Committee on Banking and Currency, *Hearings, Farm organizations*, 66 Cong. 3 sess., p. 57 (1921).

rural districts are kept informed of the progress of national legislation affecting their interest. The office in the capital is regarded as a "veritable clearing house" of information for the eight thousand Granges distributed throughout thirty-three states. It is a "direct wire" that informs members of matters of government concerning their welfare; it is the tie that binds this national rural fraternity together.²

From these local units delegates are sent to the state Granges, where the discussion of public questions started in the home community is carried further. The thirty-three state Granges in turn elect delegates for the annual meeting of the National Grange. The resolutions of the state Granges are considered by the national delegates and referred to an appropriate committee. This committee then holds hearings, listens to the testimony of experts and the opinions of members, and makes its report. This is submitted to the general body for approval and the matters thus adopted regarding congressional legislation constitute the program of the Washington Office for the ensuing year. In addition to the legislative headquarters of the National Grange, hundreds of the local Granges maintain legislative committees, through which their members are kept informed of important questions. The state Granges also frequently have committees that work before the state legislatures in forwarding the policies of the Grange.

The spokesman at Washington has no authority to speak for the Grange save upon those matters that the organization has taken official action upon in annual meeting. The National Grange essays the rôle of the "faithful spokesman and defender of Rural America." It attempts the synthesis of opinion of a large number of people, many of whose interests as inhabitants of a wide nation are oftentimes divergent. Necessarily, it is prevented from taking a position on many controversial subjects, though, through its two hundred thousand meetings a year throughout the country, it does enlighten and stimulate the farm people in many matters of public import. It is undeniably a significant factor in the marshalling of the opinion of the farmers, by attracting their attention to pertinent questions, supplying information, and making articulate their reaction.

² *National Farm News*, August 14, 1927.

Once the legislative program has been settled upon by the annual meeting of the National Grange, the task devolves upon the legislative representative at Washington to make known the standpoint of the membership to Congress and to urge the adoption of the Grange policies. This is usually done by appearing before congressional committees and presenting the opinion of the organization. A little leaflet giving a summary of the measures endorsed by the Grange is placed in the hands of each member of Congress with the request that he place the pamphlet in his files for reference. The attitude of the Patrons of Husbandry is not a militant one. They are satisfied to make their position known to Congress and trust for results to the persuasive force of their conservative membership. The Grange represents nearly a million substantial farmers, but this includes, of course, many women and a large number of children over fourteen years of age.

In its work at Washington the Grange has seldom done more than place before Congress the attitude of this membership. Much reliance has been placed upon the personal influence and reputation of their Washington representative. Until 1926, Dr. Thomas C. Atkeson acted in this capacity. Throughout a long and honorable career he was closely connected with agriculture in various capacities, and for thirty-eight years he held office in the Grange. Accordingly, he was in a position to understand and interpret the viewpoint of the membership. Moreover, members of Congress felt that they could get from him the opinion of the conservative farmer on matters concerning agriculture. The Grange has done much of its work by coöperation with leaders of the farm interests in the House and Senate. The National Grange, being a fraternal and social organization, naturally includes a number of congressmen in its membership, thus further facilitating contacts.⁴ The interest of the organization is first in the social and educational work of the local units and secondly in problems of national legislation. The Washington office is modestly conducted, \$6000 a year sufficing to finance its work. It is interesting to note, however, that even an organization of this sort has considered it advisable to be represented in the national capital, although it seldom takes a stand on a highly controversial matter and engages in none of the great fights for radical farm relief.

⁴ House Hearings, *op. cit.*, 67.

Nevertheless, the National Grange points with pride to a long list of legislative achievements. It claims credit for the advancement of the Department of Agriculture to cabinet status, the Farm Loan System, the Rural Mail Delivery, parcel post and postal savings banks, and federal aid for highways. It has also carried on successful campaigns for laws concerning food adulteration, treatment of livestock, conservation of resources, insect pests, bird protection, and similar measures.⁵

In the National Grange Legislative Program for 1927, thirty-five subjects are broached, but of this number there are only three outright recommendations that Congress pass specific legislation. The Grange in most cases contents itself with a statement of its position, either reaffirming past policies, approving of the *status quo*, or suggesting investigations of conditions. This is but in accord with its stated attitude toward legislation. Its creed is, in part, as follows:⁶

The Grange has always sought to discourage the development of the unhealthy condition of expecting too much from legislation or from the activities of the Government. It believes that the best government is that which governs least; or to put it another way, just as far as possible Government should end its activities when it has guaranteed equal protection and equal opportunity for all its citizens.

The National Grange Order of the Patrons of Husbandry is old; it is conservative; it is deliberate. It does not always take a position upon national farm questions as soon as they arise. It is first of all a national rural fraternity, though at the same time it recognizes the necessity of maintaining a watch tower at Washington to keep its members informed of the many issues constantly arising that affect their interest.

The American Farm Bureau Federation. In striking contrast to the Grange stands the American Farm Bureau Federation. Although many farmers are members of both organizations, the Grange and the Farm Bureau differ in their purpose, their methods, and their point of view. The object of both is to represent the farmer's interests, but their mode of procedure is different. At

⁵ "Grange accomplishments in legislation," in the booklet, *The Grange in Legislation*, issued by the National Grange.

⁶ From the "Grange in legislation."

the same time they usually both work to the same ends and sympathetic relations exist between them. In comparison with the Grange, the Farm Bureau is a militant organization primarily interested in improving the economic conditions of the farmers by fighting for what they conceive to be a just and fair attitude on the part of the government toward agriculture. Here is a league of embattled farmers ready to fight for legislation that they believe will bring about "a more equitable apportionment of the distribution of awards among the various groups in industrial activities that make up the national whole."⁷ The American Farm Bureau Federation since its inception in 1919 has been the most conspicuous champion of agriculture and has been the active advocate of a large mass of farm legislation that has been put through Congress since the war. The rise of this federation to its present commanding position has been very rapid.

*The Rise of the Federation.*⁸ The Farm Bureau has grown up around the activities of the County Agent, who traveled about the country-side and instructed farmers in methods of scientific agriculture. If the work was to be successful, it was necessary that the farmers get together in groups and coöperate with the agent. Various local farm bureaus were organized to this end. When Congress in 1914 passed the Smith-Lever bill, whereby federal funds were combined with the support given the county agents by the state agricultural colleges, this work among the farmers was extended and systematized. Then too, the importance of efficient farming methods was emphasized by the need of food during the war, and further aid was accorded the movement by the Emergency Food Production Act of 1917. The focal point of this agricultural extension work was the state university in most cases, and it was but a natural development to find the local farm bureaus forming state federations.

When these bureaus had been organized in nine states, farm leaders realized that "here was a sleeping giant that might be awakened to full power almost immediately." Accordingly delegates from the state federations met, a national federation of farmers was organized and an intensive campaign was soon under way to bring in the farm bureaus from other states.

⁷ Annual Report of Washington Office, 1923, p. 2.

⁸ Kile, 94.

*The Federation To-day.*⁹ The result is that to-day this organization of farmers includes the farm federations of forty states and claims a membership of nearly one million. From the very first the importance of proper financing has been recognized. The annual membership dues usually are \$10, of which \$6 goes to the local bureau, \$3.50 to the state and fifty cents to the national treasury. The total income of the national Bureau for 1926 was \$144,475, of which \$139,379 arose from the payment of membership dues. The expenses of the Washington office have varied from \$30,000 in 1922 to about \$20,000 in 1926. At the present time the organization is entirely solvent and is even accumulating a reserve fund. These figures are significant in view of the importance that finances have played in the success or failure of farmers' associations in the past. So long as a substantial number of farmers pay their annual dues, the organization retains its vitality.

Besides the Department of Finance, which manages the budget of the national Bureau and extends its services to the state and county farm bureaus, there are six other departments attending to the other phases of the Federation activities. A good example of a typical service department is the Department of Marketing. This is the channel through which support is given to the coöperative marketing movement. Better methods of merchandising are studied and efforts are made to secure the passage of appropriate marketing legislation. For example, during 1926 the "marketing counsel spent a total of about eight weeks' time as adviser on various measures proposed in Congress for agriculture relief," assisting in drawing up provisions of the law concerning coöperative associations and preparing graphs and analyses of principal measures.¹⁰

Other divisions are the Department of Transportation, which has been instrumental in securing lower freight rates for the farmer; the Organization Department, which advises the local units as to the best way to maintain and increase their membership; and the Home and Community Department, which aids in sustaining interest by social work among the women and children. This department also supplies program material for the meetings of the county farm bureaus and plans picnics, "home talent chatauquas" and the like.

⁹ For sources giving descriptive data on organization and activities of the Federation, the annual reports of 1921 to 1926 have been used.

¹⁰ Annual Administrative Report for 1925-26, pp. 13-14.

Finally, the executive officers through the Administrative Department correlate, guide, and direct the work of the several service departments.¹¹

Organizations of this nature find it necessary to make constant exertions to keep the membership together and conscious of their group interest. They do this by making their usefulness felt through the service departments and by emphasizing the social side through entertaining meetings and through enlisting the interest of the whole family. Perhaps the most valuable aids toward building up this *esprit de corps* are the activities of the Departments of Information and of Legislation. They are of outstanding importance in the American Farm Bureau Federation.

The Department of Information. It is an accepted axiom that "publicity, properly adapted and directed, is indispensable to getting and keeping members; and its form and appeal must be of such character that it will create and maintain interest in the Farm Bureau."¹² Accordingly, it is the purpose of the Department of Information to keep the leaders in all corners of the country closely informed of organization matters.

The Weekly News Letter was circulated as a clip sheet to agricultural papers and newspapers and as an official publication from headquarters to the county, state, and national leaders. During 1925, for example, 358,000 copies of this sheet were printed and distributed. Coöperating with the legislative department this paper carried news of the various proposals and bills considered by Congress. At the close of the congressional session, a tabloid summary of the subjects of first concern to agriculture that were before Congress was broadcast to the members. Then in the succeeding months preparatory to the next meeting of Congress, legislative proposals were discussed and a referendum conducted among the members. The report of this department for 1925-26 records:

In supporting the work of the Department of Legislation in its effort to secure enactment of agricultural bills, the Department of Information prepared, published, and distributed more than two hundred separate articles setting forth the ideas and principles of the Farm Bureau legislative program. These included articles prepared for national magazines, for newspaper syndicates, for individual newspapers, for the Weekly News Letter and for radio.

¹¹ The annual reports contain full accounts of the activities of these several departments.

¹² Annual Report, 1925-26, p. 21.

In like manner this department coöperates with the other departments of the Federation, as well as giving individual aid to the state farm bureau federations. Just as organized business has its organ, the national federation, in conjunction with the state bureaus, has an official publication known as "The Bureau Farmer." Also the following regular services are maintained:

- a. The idea and suggestion exchange whereby the best of the opinions of one unit are made known to the entire group.
- b. A radio agency which organizes farm programs and supplies material to broadcasting stations.
- c. Motion picture service through which films of interest to agriculture are taken, distributed, and projected.
- d. Assistance to state and county units in setting up local publicity departments.
- e. An artist is retained on the staff to supply upon demand cuts and cartoons.
- f. Buttons, posters, literature, form letters, and the like are supplied to meet the needs of the organization.
- g. Special publicity campaigns are prepared for the local units that may find them of value.
- h. A research department maintains a service for investigating national organizations, public agencies, newspapers, etc.

In effect the Department of Information amounts to a highly organized and efficient machine for the synthesizing and creating of a unified farmer opinion. The scope of its work has only been sketched in, but sufficiently to indicate that all the modern means of communication and persuasion have been brought into play to develop a coherent opinion among the farmers and to make the force of this opinion felt. As stated by the report of 1924-25: "The department has aggressively sought to reflect the organization in such a way as to build the greatest possible public confidence, create the keenest membership appreciation and develop the widest non-member interest."

The work of this department spreads throughout the entire membership, penetrates all departments, and places the thought and activities of the Farm Bureau Federation before the general public through every medium known to the publicity expert.

The Legislative Department. This opinion of the agricultural interests is the material with which the legislative representative works. He makes a study of public questions, surmises with a

very close degree of accuracy the questions that will come before the next Congress, and then goes to the farmers to get their reaction upon these measures. The Department of Information is an indispensable factor in preparing and presenting the sentiment of the farmer in such a way that the legislative representative may ascertain what position to take on given measures. Once the opinion of the majority of the organization has been made articulate, the legislative agent of the American Farm Bureau Federation proceeds in the same general manner that the legislative agents in all other militant associations in Washington employ in bringing pressure to bear. He presents the views of the farmers to congressional committees, tries to interest the leaders in Congress, and as a last resort appeals to the constituents to communicate with their representative and urge support of the Farm Bureau program. This is the manner in which the Federation operated when it first opened an office in the capital and this is the way it operates to-day. There was a period, however, during which it developed a remarkably effective method of securing favorable legislation. This was the time of the famous "farm bloc."

The "Farm Bloc." The appearance of this faction representing agriculture in the Congress of the United States is one of the most interesting developments in group representation. It is the logical outcome of the theory underlying this movement of organized minorities to obtain favorable legislation before Congress. It illustrates the tendency that powerful special interests encourage in a representative government. In the case of the farmers, various extenuating circumstances have been offered, but they do not invalidate the farm bloc as an illustration of the tendency that successful organized groups exert toward splitting the national legislature into factions.

The Farm Bloc was organized by reminding senators and congressmen from agricultural districts that when matters concerning the farmers arose in Congress, party affiliations should be forgotten and the welfare of the farmer alone considered. The Farm Bureau does not consider a legislator as a Republican or a Democrat. It is the attitude of the congressman toward agriculture that is of interest. Accordingly, a full record is kept of each member of the House and Senate with special reference to votes on matters of concern to the farmer. These records are placed before the

members of the Farm Bureau Federation through the medium of the Washington office and it is left to the individual farmer to determine which congressman is to be considered the friend of agriculture. There is no official pronouncement directing the farmer how to vote. However, the members are familiar with the program of the Farm Bureau and they are supplied with the record of their senator's and representative's stand on these measures. There need be little question in the mind of a loyal Farm Bureau voter when the time comes to mark the ballot. To form and maintain a farm bloc it was necessary to have such a strong organization to rally agrarian opinion and marshal the voters behind the legislators who defied party lines in the interest of agriculture.

With the active aid and coöperation of the Farm Bureau, Senator Kenyon of Iowa and Senator Capper of Kansas (both Republicans) and Senator Smith of South Carolina (Democrat) formed a coterie among twenty-one senators from the South and West, pledging their support of agricultural measures regardless of party lines. Representative L. J. Dickinson in like manner got together a group in the House of Representatives.

The former Assistant Washington Representative, O. M. Kile thus describes the situation:¹⁸

By May (1921) both groups were in good working order and were in constant conference with the Washington office of the American Farm Bureau Federation, which is their recognized clearing house for agricultural information. Within another month these agricultural "blocs" began to make themselves felt, and by the middle of June they were in effective control.

The Farm Bureau, being moderate in its demands, got practically everything it asked for. In rapid succession were passed the Capper-Tincher Grain Exchange control bill, the Packer Control Bill, the Federal Aid Road bill, and the various Farm Financing and Crop Exporting bills. In addition the plans for a sales tax were blocked and full tariff protection on agricultural products was demanded and in most cases secured.

The Farm Bloc held the balance of power and the Sixty-sixth and Sixty-seventh Congresses were forced to submit to the controlling votes of this faction. It was impossible to hold the group

¹⁸ Kile, 189.

together, however, and to-day the Farm Bureau must depend upon its Department of Legislation to secure the desired legislation. The Annual Administrative Report of 1926 states that:

The Department of Legislation is maintained in order that the interests of agriculture, as an industry, and the farmer, as an individual, may be properly safeguarded. The Department stands on guard at Washington ready to utter a protest of a powerful organization when legislation is proposed which would be injurious to agriculture, and ready to lend the assistance of the organization when helpful legislation is proposed.

The following services of the Department are available:

- a. Furnishes a vote record of any congressman or senator.
- b. Furnishes summaries of bills affecting farm interests.
- c. Represents the interests of state and county bureaus in public hearings and in private conferences.
- d. Presents petitions and requests to government bureaus.
- e. Furnishes advice as to drafting of bills and as to the best method of procedure in getting action.
- f. Secures promulgation of departmental rulings to carry out properly laws for protection of agriculture.
- g. Carries on research upon economic and legislative questions.¹⁴

The theory upon which the Farm Bureau operates places the economic welfare of the farmer before all other aims. It is the belief that if the farmers of the country organize closely and demand their full share of the wealth of the nation, all other things will be added unto them, both politically and socially.

The Farm Bureau expects to accomplish this objective largely through congressional legislation that will protect the farmer to the same extent that, in the opinion of the Federation, the business and manufacturing groups are protected. The reports of the legislative department seem to indicate that the Farm Bureau is achieving this goal with a fair degree of success. For example, of the fifty-two matters before the Sixty-ninth Congress in which this organization was interested, about forty were acted upon in a way generally favorable to the Farm Bureau. Of course it is impossible to estimate the influence of the organized farmers in these decisions, but it is significant to observe that representatives of the farmer are continually on the watch in his interest.

¹⁴ Annual Administrative Report of 1926, p. 35 *et seq.*

The Farmer's Educational and Coöperative Union of America. There remains to be considered the other organization of importance that represents the interests of the farmer generally; namely, the Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union. This organization is more usually known as the Farmers' Union. At the present time it is not as active as the Grange or the Farm Bureau. In Washington the name of the Farmers' Union is closely associated with another organization known as the National Board of Farm Organizations. The Union is the principal member of this board, and much of its work in the capital has been carried on in conjunction with the Board of Farm Organizations. This is a conference body, through which a number of farmers' organizations in various parts of the country may coöperate upon certain agreed courses of action. The decision of the constituent bodies must be unanimous before any project may be undertaken by the National Board. The Board only functions when its members wish it to do something. Like the Grange and the Farm Bureau, it came to Washington at the time of the World War and was very active for several years as a medium through which a number of sectional agricultural associations acted jointly in their relations with the federal authorities. Of late years the National Board has been quiescent, but the machinery stands ready for use should the member organizations require its services.

To-day the farmer finds established in Washington organizations that represent his interests before the national government as fully as the labor group and the business interests are represented by their respective associations. Particular products such as milk, fruit, or cotton have organizations that function in the interest of these commodities just as do trade associations for specific industries, while the general interests of agriculture are represented by the three associations already described and several other less important organizations of a like nature.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REPRESENTATION OF ORGANIZED LABOR

American Federation of Labor. The chief spokesman of organized labor at Washington is the American Federation of Labor. Because of its size, its influence and power, and the inclusiveness of its membership, the Federation may be taken as the representative of the American labor movement.¹ Through the national headquarters at the capital a close watch is kept upon all matters arising before the national government in which the interests of labor are concerned; and it is through these same offices that aggressive campaigns to secure legislation for the laboring classes are launched. The Federation has fought for decades in labor's behalf, and the record of achievement bespeaks the success of its methods. It is a "national association" *par excellence*, and the organization and membership is preëminently adapted to the new system of lobbying that organized groups of all varieties are exerting upon the legislators. The Federation can speak for the greatest number of voters of any of the organizations represented in Washington. Aside from the political parties the Federation is considered the most formidable group in the country.² As has been pointed out, one of the greatest sources of strength of these organized groups lies in the number of citizens for which the organization may speak. It is here that the power of the Federation lies. Through its unions extending all over the country, the consensus of opinion of the laboring man and his economic interests are unified and made coherent to the government and the public generally. Of the many associations now representing group interests of one sort or another the Federation is perhaps the most widely recognized as the representative of a particular element of the citizenry.

This organization is composed primarily, though not exclusively, of autonomous labor and trades organizations. In 1928 it included four departments, 107 national unions, forty-nine state federations,

¹ Robert F. Hoxie, *Trade unionism in the United States*, 420.

² Edward M. Sait, *American parties and elections*, 115.

792 city central bodies, 753 local department councils, 373 local trade and national labor unions chartered directly by the Federation, making a grand total of 29,128 local unions banded together under a common leadership.³ This is the more remarkable when it is considered that the only bond cementing these diverse trades together is a feeling of mutual interest. The only force possessed by the Federation is a moral power of suasion. It is only as a feeling of group patriotism, of camaraderie and of common obligation is aroused that the Federation can solidify the phalanx of labor.⁴ This is its aim.⁵

Its membership in the record year of 1920 was 4,078,740. In 1928 it was 2,896,063. This membership is the basis of the financing, the dues in most cases being one cent a month per member.⁶ The voting power of the unions is based upon the size of the membership as shown by the payment of dues.⁷ The Treasurer's statement for 1928 showed an income and balance of \$795,080, and a total expenditure of \$496,971.⁸ The simple statement of these facts about the Federation serves to give in some measure an idea of its position as a national institution. It is an organization that extends into every state of the nation and exerts an influence upon millions of persons who are not actively affiliated with it.

Other Labor Organizations. The only important organized labor groups not included in the Federation are the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the four Railroad Brotherhoods, and of these two classes of workers, only the latter maintain permanent headquarters in Washington. Numerically they are greatly outranked by the Federation in strength and influence. However, the Railroad Brotherhoods, because of the nature of their work and the close organization of their unions, have demonstrated on more than one occasion that their importance must not be based alone upon their numbers. Where matters concerning labor generally

³ Report of the Executive Council, 1928, p. 8.

⁴ Gompers, American labor movement, 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁶ A. F. of L., Constitution, Art. X, Sec. 1, Report of Proceedings, 46th Annual Convention.

⁷ Art. IV, Sec. 3.

⁸ Report of the Executive Council, 1926, p. 15.

arise, all the spokesmen of the workers coöperate through the Conference Committee of Legislative Representatives⁹ in Washington. Of course, the nucleus of this committee is composed of the agents of the American Federation of Labor. The membership varies from ten to fifteen at some times, to thirty or more at others. When a union, a member of the Federation, sees a matter of particular moment to that union, coming before Congress, a special representative is often sent to Washington. However, under ordinary circumstances the regular legislative committee of the Federation attends to all questions arising before the national government, which affect the welfare of the workman.

Organized labor has arranged special mediums through which the attitude of the workers upon matters of legislation and politics may be made known to the public and to the membership. For example, the mouthpiece of the Railroad Brotherhoods is the newspaper, "Labor." It is owned by the four Brotherhoods of engineers, firemen, conductors, and trainmen, which are independent of the American Federation of Labor, together with the other standard railroad labor organizations affiliated with the Federation. "Labor" was the first¹⁰ national newspaper established by the workers of the United States. It was founded in 1919 and is to-day on a firm financial footing, with assets estimated at \$500,000. The circulation averages four hundred and eighty-seven thousand copies a week. It is an illustration of the fact that all the organized groups tend to have their own "organ" for self-expression.

The staff of "Labor" serves the double purpose of keeping the membership of the railroad unions informed of legislation affecting their interests, and at the same time of informing members of Congress, and government officers generally, of the standpoint of the Railroad Brotherhoods. The legislative agents at the headquarters of "Labor" maintain close contact with certain members of Congress and with various national commissions and departments. From this same central office the paper is sent out, informing the railroad workers of the latest developments at the seat of government. The representatives of the railroad groups are active

⁹ Under ordinary circumstances the Federation is represented by a permanent legislative agent.

¹⁰ From report of annual meeting as reported in issue of *Labor* of July 30, 1927, p. 4.

in initiating and forwarding measures in Congress. Their paper is a powerful and vastly helpful instrument.

The Federation and Legislation. The American Federation of Labor in its relation to legislation operates chiefly through its Legislative Committee and its Executive Committee. In fact, the first duty the constitution places upon this latter committee is to "watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct."¹¹ It is the Legislative Committee, however, that gives such matters special and constant attention. In the work of carrying out labor's program, the "American Federationists" is considered one of the most powerful weapons.¹²

Its purpose is to further the interests of the workers, to advocate and defend the trade union movement, to instill hope and courage into the working people that they may have it in their power to bring about changes in our economic, social, and political life whenever they are determined to register their will.

The Federation maintains the usual "information" and "education" services.¹³ There is a Weekly News Service, a clip sheet, a publicity service for the daily press, and the flood of pamphlets and reprints commonly put forth by most national associations in Washington.

In addition to the above services for legislative purposes and for the influencing of public opinion, the Federation has a third agency that is unique. It is called the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee. This committee serves to round out the activities of the Washington headquarters in its fight for labor. The Legislative Committee tries to have favorable bills passed; the Information Service attempts to build up a friendly public opinion; the Non-Partisan Committee strives to have congressmen elected who are sympathetic toward the program of the American Federation of Labor.

¹¹ 46th Annual Convention, Report of Proceedings, p. xxiii.

¹² American Federation of Labor, History, Encyclopedia, Reference Book, 1919, p. 15.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1923, pp. 240-44.

Such are the chief agencies at the capital whereby the voice of labor is added to the babel of other organized groups. Before inquiring into the actual operation of these committees, it may be well to consider how and why organized labor came to the capital in the first place.

From the very first, the Federation recognized the desirability of watching legislation. In 1882, just one year after it was founded a local legislative committee was authorized to deal with problems arising in Washington. A regular committee, composed of individuals who were to give all their attention to matters of general legislation, was appointed in 1895.¹⁴

In the early days of the Federation, some of the unions attempted unsuccessfully to gain their points by participation in political fights, but the failure of these methods caused a reaction to economic methods as the best means under the circumstances.¹⁵ Progress seemed slow, however, and the unsympathetic attitude of the courts¹⁶ and the strength of organized business interests before the legislatures persuaded labor that their methods must needs be supplemented in some way. The result was the famous Bill of Grievances of 1906 in which was set forth a number of specific reforms to be militantly attained. There were eight items to be secured by legislation. The Federation has been actively and continuously interested in federal legislation from this time onward. By 1917 the American Federation of Labor was ensconced in its present national headquarters at the capital.

The general policy of organized labor in this country makes it of utmost importance to the unions that a lobby be maintained in Washington. The forces of organized labor in their relation to government in the United States operate in a unique fashion when contrasted with the workers' groups in other countries. It is because of this attitude, peculiar to the great American labor groups, that Washington representatives are considered essential to their welfare. To understand why organized labor deems it absolutely necessary to support powerful spokesmen before the federal government, the general attitude of the Federation toward politics must be considered.

¹⁴ Mollie Ray Carroll, *Labor and politics*, 42.

¹⁵ Hoxie, 87.

¹⁶ Carroll, 42.

Attitude of the Federation toward Politics. The Federation has steadily maintained the position that labor has nothing to gain and everything to lose by organizing as a political labor party.¹⁷ While fully realizing that there are certain measures only to be gained through governmental action, it believes that there are other and better methods of obtaining them than through the uncertain means of a minority party of workers. It considers that conditions in this country do not warrant following the example of organized labor in England or in Germany. Nevertheless, it must secure favorable governmental action on certain matters if it is to function successfully.

In one important field the attitude of the Federation toward government and politics is entirely defensive. In matters dealing with the relationship of the worker to his employer concerning pay, hours, and certain working conditions, it believes the problem to be economic and distinctly beyond the purview of legislation. The desire of the Federation is to keep government from these matters. Legislation that attempts to settle such matters by law must be defeated. The relations of the employer and the employee are believed to lie outside the scope of government and beyond the realm of politics. Samuel Gompers summed up the attitude of labor as follows:

I am very suspicious of the activities of governmental agencies. . . . The American Federation of Labor is opposed to limiting, by legal statutory authority, the hours of work for men in private industries. The American Federation of Labor has apprehensions as to the wisdom of placing in the hands of government additional powers which may be used to the detriment of the working people.¹⁸

Since the forces of organized labor do not operate as a political party but still attempt to participate in the field of legislative action, they must perforce maintain some systematic contacts with the agencies of government. Hence the Washington representatives. The Federation considers its functions as chiefly economic. It is determined to keep the relations of the capitalist and the laborer in the field of collective bargaining, even if it must fight certain

¹⁷ William English Walling, *American labor and American democracy*, Ch. I to III.

¹⁸ Gompers, 15.

proposed legislation to do so. This applies generally to the state governments. The national authorities, of course, have no jurisdiction over the relations of employer and employee except as these latter are employed in interstate or foreign commerce. While the American Federation of Labor may consider its functions as chiefly economic and its relations with state governments largely defensive, in its relations with the national government its tactics differ. Here the Federation does not wish the worker left to work out his wage scale unaided by legislation, but on the other hand demands federal interference. In these cases, likewise, the office in the capital has much to do.

It is for certain classes¹⁹ only that the Federation feels this responsibility. For seamen, for government employees, for women, and for children, it has urged and forwarded protective legislation concerning all phases of their work; the hours, the wages, the surroundings, and, as in the case of the government workers, the right to organize a union. It is felt that, since these four classes of workers all labor under political and legal handicaps, it is necessary that a spokesman take their part before the government. They are not in a position to help themselves, and the Federation has made it a settled policy to urge legislation protecting them. Since the seamen and the government employees are under federal authority, and since a constitutional amendment is sought to protect the children, it is easily seen that the fundamental policy of the Federation to foster these special classes of workers gives the legislative representatives at Washington plenty to do.

The other important field in which organized labor is interested is that concerning conditions of labor common to many industries. These are conditions that cannot be settled by the bargaining of the workers with the employers. Questions are involved such as occupational disease, installation of safety appliances, or the competition of convict and immigrant labor. Here governmental action is necessary, and some cases can only be settled by the federal authorities. Again, the office in the capital proves its value.

All the questions thus far mentioned have to do with improving the conditions of special classes of workmen or the elimination of specific abuses, and as such they are typical of the attitude of the

¹⁹ Carroll, 123.

American Federation of Labor. The standpoint of the Federation is nothing if not practical. "The American Federation of Labor and the *bona fide* organized labor movement are more concerned in doing the actual work of alleviating the present bad conditions than in promulgating programs," Samuel Gompers states.²⁰ And again, "We do not set any particular standard, but work for the best possible conditions immediately obtainable for the workers. When they are obtained, we strive for better."²¹

It is such a program of practical and specific measures of reform that can be put through by a skillful lobby. The intent of the Federation is admirably suited to the tactics employed. Nevertheless, general schemes of social betterment have been considered by the organization. Resolutions are not infrequently adopted at the annual conventions giving the consensus of opinion of that body on questions such as education, the regulation of large industries, the government's attitude on the tariff, or on finances. These, however, are not the problems upon which the Legislative Committee expends much energy. Their interests and those of the Federation as a whole are more immediate.

In summary, then, it may be said that the American Federation of Labor, faced with the problem of keeping the government from interfering in the relations of workers and employer by statutory regulation and concerned with securing protection for certain defenseless classes of workers, is confronted with two alternatives. It must either go into politics as the party of organized labor, or it must bring what pressure it can as an organized minority working through a lobby. The socialistic elements have long urged the former methods, but the Federation has deemed it best to work through the latter. Hence the legislative agents at Washington to-day play an important rôle in its work.

Attitude of the Railroad Brotherhoods Toward Politics. In most respects the attitude of the Railroad Brotherhoods is substantially the same as that of the American Federation of Labor. For example, they have worked with the latter in putting through the Railway Labor Act, a law abolishing the Railroad Labor Board and providing for the maintenance of industrial peace on the rail-

²⁰ Gompers, 17.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 21.

roads through collective bargaining, mediation, conciliation, and arbitration.²² Both organizations are one when it comes to keeping governmental regulation out of industry.

The chief point of difference between the American Federation of Labor and the Railway Brotherhoods lies in the fact that the latter come almost entirely under the authority of the national government. As laborers engaged in interstate commerce, they are subject to the action of the national Congress. Moreover, they have not relied always upon collective bargaining to gain their points with the carriers. They have taken advantage of the fact that Congress has the power in their case to pass legislation that will improve their conditions all over the country. The great example, of course, is the Adamson Act, whereby through one action of the legislature, an eight-hour day was obtained. It would be useless for the American Federation of Labor to demand such a thing for Labor generally, because the authority of the national government does not extend over labor except as it is engaged in interstate commerce.²³

On the part of the Brotherhoods, there is a tendency to consider legislation which is not so directly concerned with labor alone. Their interest is turning to other questions belonging to the general class of "progressive" legislation. For example, the question of Muscle Shoals attracted attention of the Washington offices; the general problem of taxation was likewise considered, and on most matters of national importance the Brotherhoods express their point of view through the agency of their newspaper, "Labor." The idea of this paper is to inform the "folks back home" on national issues and build up a labor opinion on those questions. A rather striking example of the "progressive" attitude of the Brotherhoods was their advocacy of the Plumb Plan,²⁴ the proposal for the joint operation of the railroads by the government workers and officers cooperating.

Having discussed the attitude of the agencies of organized labor toward politics and government, and reviewed the facts of

²² Report of the Executive Council, 1926, p. 44.

²³ H. B. Vanderblue and K. F. Burgess, *Railroads*, ch. XXV.

²⁴ For discussion of Plumb Plan, see Savel Zimand, *Modern social movements*.

importance concerning their composition and management, there yet remains to be considered the actual operations of these organizations in their contacts with the legislators, the officers and the governmental machinery at Washington.

How Organized Labor Works Through Its Washington Offices. The work of the Washington office is first of all outlined by the legislative program adopted at the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. This is held in October, a significant date, since it precedes by a short period the meeting of Congress. It is well to have the attitude of labor made known before the law-makers arrive in Washington and the President writes his message to the national legislature. At the convention the matters to be considered are guided in large measure by the report of the Executive Committee, although the delegates have the right to introduce any measure for general consideration that they deem important. Of the large number of issues discussed, an effort is made to limit the final recommendations of the convention to a few. The attitude of the American Federation of Labor is that "the interests of labor will be best subserved by concentrating our energies upon securing the enactment of what we may consider to be preferential legislation instead of dissipating our strength in striving for a varied assortment of labor measures."²⁶

There is more chance of success in forwarding a small legislative program. For example, of the 17,812 bills introduced in the Sixty-ninth Congress, the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor was interested in less than a dozen.²⁶

The Legislative Committee at the annual convention also reports progress on the national legislation, upon which the American Federation of Labor took a position at the meeting the preceding year.²⁷ In this way organized labor retains a continuing interest in national issues and works from year to year upon a program. The delegates, in the main a body of professional unionists comprising the officers of the subordinate unions from all over the

²⁶ American Federation of Labor, History, Encyclopedia, Reference Book, 1919, p. 283.

²⁶ Report of the Executive Council, 1926, pp. 44-45.

²⁷ American Federation of Labor, Reference Book, 1925, pp. 154-55.

nation, carry back to their respective units the decisions arrived at in the national convention.

Once this body has instructed the Legislative Committee upon the course to be followed for the ensuing year, it devolves upon the committee to put these directions into force. In large measure this is done by working with and through congressmen who are either holders of union cards, or at least sympathetic with the cause of labor. The lobbyists of the organized workmen have been in the game for many years, they understand conditions thoroughly, and they know how to get what they want. They are kept informed of developments by friendly congressmen, and it is through these legislators that their measures are introduced.

The legislative agents of organized labor are much about the capitol, in committee rooms, and in the offices of congressmen, keeping in touch with the situation by personal contacts. During the sessions of Congress, the railroad legislative agents, for example, meet regularly and frequently for luncheon. Here their leader presides and the "scouts" report to the group any information they have secured that may be of interest to the cause of labor. The matter is discussed and a copy of the bill concerned is procured. If the question is one of importance, a committee is appointed and instructed to investigate and report at the next meeting.

Then, if the matter is found to be more than one of casual importance, it is brought to the attention of the head of the national organization whose interest is involved. If a decision is made to fight the matter, word is passed down the line and the legislative agents get to work. They consult with coöperative legislators, canvass all congressmen to solicit support, arrange for appearing before congressional committee hearings, collect data, and supply senators or representatives, who are helping them, with material for speeches.

In some cases it is considered necessary to arouse the constituents and have them send letters and telegrams to their senators and representatives. The labor interests consider this effective and useful. They believe that "business" has the advantage over "labor" in that such methods are not necessary for the former. They contend that all "business" has to do is to get one of the

"Big Boys" to talk things over with a congressman and he is ready to do their bidding. They say that some senators and representatives are honestly convinced of the rightfulness of the cause of "business," but that others are merely repaying their campaign supporters. In order to get the latter to realize their responsibility to the "people," organized labor believes that the constituents must write letters and send telegrams.

No influence is so potent upon Representatives and Senators as urgent letters from their constituents. . . . Legislation is of little value indeed if it is not worth a 2-cent or a 1-cent postal card. In this, as well as in all other efforts of life, persistence wins. It compels more thoughtful consideration on the part of our people as well as upon our congressional and legislative representatives, or, perhaps, more often our mal-representatives, and thus by iteration and reiteration we will arouse a clearer and healthier public opinion, and by organizing the yet unorganized, more largely constitute in ourselves that public opinion.²⁸

Thus does the American Federation of Labor sum up its attitude on the purpose and effectiveness of deluging congressmen with appeals through the mail.

It is the duty of the Legislative Committee to keep a constant vigil in Congress, and at crucial points on controversial subjects to call upon the membership, so well organized all over the country, to come to the aid of the Washington watchmen. Ordinarily, these agents guard the interests of labor merely by following the progress of their bills through Congress and safeguarding them from the hazards along the way. There are other adverse interests ever ready to add amendments that might change the purpose of a measure. Squabbles arising over petty details may cause the defeat or postponement of a bill. For example, in the Sixty-ninth Congress²⁹ slightly different bills were introduced in the House and Senate on the same subject. Each house passed the bill introduced therein; both houses refused to consider the bill of the other. Matters were deadlocked and Congress was fast drawing to a close. However, due to the insistence of the American Federation of Labor and the union of government employees, the confer-

²⁸ History, Encyclopedia, Reference Book, 1919, p. 283.

²⁹ Report of the Executive Council, 1926, p. 45.

ence committee agreed to compromise, and the bill was passed just forty minutes before the final adjournment. The bill in this case was not one of national importance, but it greatly affected a certain group within the Federation. It is perfectly accurate to state that it was the presence of an organized group urging its own interests that made the congressmen put aside minor differences and pass a single bill.

Above all, the legislative agent makes it his business to understand the various congressmen, so that an experienced man can tell to within a very few votes just how the senators and representatives will vote on any given measure. With the American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods, however, it is not thought wise to wait until a congressman is ready to vote and then attempt to convert him to the cause of labor. The ambition of these organizations is to send "labor" representatives to Congress in the first place. To this end they devote much of their effort.

Effort of Organized Labor to Seat "Labor" Congressmen.

Candidates acceptable to the labor interests are not necessarily men with paid-up union cards. It is essential, however, that their general attitude, upon matters in which labor is involved, be coöperative and sympathetic. In this respect organized labor is becoming more liberal: it does not expect a congressman to agree in all subjects. The standpoint of the American Federation of Labor is expressed in its famous statement:⁸⁰ "We now call upon the workers of our common country to Stand faithfully by our friends, Oppose and defeat our enemies, whether they be candidates for President, for Congress or other offices, whether Executive, legislative, or judicial."

Beginning with the sensational fight over the reelection of Congressman Littlefield of Maine, the American Federation of Labor has time and again taken part in campaign struggles.

National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee.

To-day the task of electing to Congress men favorable toward organized labor is managed in the American Federation of Labor

⁸⁰ *American Federationist*, August, 1908, p. 605.

by the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee. There appear to be two methods by which the friends of labor might be elected. The first is by nominating an independent candidate as the representative of labor; the second, by supporting the regular party candidate who declares himself in sympathy with labor's program. The latter method is the one generally preferred. The report³¹ of the Campaign Committee of the American Federation of Labor for 1926 illustrates the procedure. As a preliminary step, a survey of the political situation all over the country was made. The headquarters of the Federation in every state were communicated with, and information requested as to the general political situation and the aid that could be expected from the state groups in the national campaign. When these replies from the states had been gone over, President Green sent a circular letter to all organized labor.

He called attention to the "insidious" campaign to discredit members of Congress favorable toward labor, and called upon the workers throughout the country to rally to the support of their friends by taking an "aggressive" part in the primaries. To guide the labor forces in their selection of the thirty-four senators and the 435 representatives to be elected, a careful record of the voting of the congressmen upon labor measures was distributed among the membership of the Federation.

The activities of the Federation in its efforts to line up the workmen, irrespective of party, in support of certain congressmen cannot be better described than in the words of President Green himself. Here is exemplified the effort of a strong central office, representing a particular economic class, to solidify its members into a compact group in the forwarding of its own interests. The elections all over the nation are watched by the office in Washington, and an attempt made to support men whose records are approved by organized labor. President Green writes:

It will be helpful to the American Federation of Labor Non-Partisan Campaign Committee if the officials of the various state federations of labor and central bodies will send in a list of candidates for United States Senators and members of the House of Representatives. It also will be beneficial if the state record of candidates who have never been in Congress is sent to the President of the American Federation of Labor.

³¹ Report of the Executive Council, 1926, p. 51.

A number of state legislatures will be in session this Winter and the legislative committees of the various state federations and city central bodies will have an opportunity of obtaining information regarding candidates for the United States Congress as well as for the various state legislatures.

Vigorous campaigns should be launched in order that the rank and file and the people generally will be made acquainted with the records of candidates, especially in the primaries. These campaigns should urge every voter to go to the polls primary day and vote only for those candidates for the United States Senate and House of Representatives, state legislatures or any other public office who have shown a fairness to Labor and the people in order to defeat those who openly or secretly aim to hamper or obstruct the normal activities of the wage earners and the people generally.

Every state federation of labor, every city central body and every local union should appoint non-partisan political campaign committees. . . .

City central bodies should arrange for meetings of the campaign committees of the local unions to advocate the election of friends of Labor and the people and to defeat the enemies of Labor and the people.

State federations of labor should call meetings of these local campaign committees for the purpose of uniting solidly against state officials and members of the United States Congress unfriendly to Labor and the people.

Mass meetings should be held.

The campaign should not be confined to the organized wage earners alone, but should be extended to the farmers and others so that the truth will be clearly set forth in the election of officials who will be true to the interest of the people.

Much depends upon the outcome of the primaries and elections. The reactionary element now in control of government affairs is not timid. It is riding rough shod over those who stand in the way of reactionary legislation.

The people must be informed of this fact and there is no other organization that has such an opportunity as the labor movement. There are thirty-five thousand local unions through which the campaign can be extended into every nook and corner of the United States. . . .

It is our wish that every campaign committee will write the President of the American Federation of Labor for information that will be of value as to candidates.

Every organized wage earner and trade union official is urged to make it his duty to carry out the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor.

The success of that policy depends upon the organized wage earners and their sympathizers.

Yours fraternally,

WILLIAM GREEN,

Chairman, American Federation of Labor,
National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee.

The result was that several hundred inquiries were received from every state in the Union as to the attitude of members of Congress on measures of interest to labor. Requests came from officers, from individuals, and even from congressmen, who wished copies of their labor record. Upon the approach of the primaries, the legislative records were sent to the central bodies and local unions in the various congressional districts. Moreover, where congressmen had been unduly antagonistic to legislation favorable to labor, the organized labor movements in the respective districts were notified. The Committee reported:

The most encouraging reports have come from many states. In those states where primaries have been held, members of the United States Senate who have been antagonistic to Labor and the people were defeated through the influence of the labor movement. Candidates for the House of Representatives who have been friendly to Labor were in all cases successful.

As an instance of the work, the case of Representative Finis J. Garrett of Tennessee is cited. This Congressman, the leader of the minority party in the House and a representative of many years standing, incurred the displeasure of the Federation by his attitude toward bills in which it was interested. Accordingly, President Green sent a letter to the State Federation of Labor of Tennessee in which he said in part:

Representative Garrett has not lost an opportunity during his long session in Congress to antagonize most bitterly every important measure that has been introduced in that body in the interest of Labor. . . .

I hope your convention will take some action that will let the people of Tennessee, as well as the people of his congressional district know the record against forward-looking legislation that Representative Garrett has made in Congress.

Furthermore, a representative was sent from national headquarters to the state convention, President Green's letter was circu-

lated among all the labor papers in the state, and so much agitation was aroused that Congressman Garrett hurried home from Washington. Few wage earners live in his district, the report states, but despite the fact that his constituents are largely farmers "the appeal by the labor movement was so successful that he was barely elected by only about 1200 majority. This is an incident in the work of the Executive Council."³²

The Railroad Brotherhoods in Political Campaigns. It is also a graphic example of the methods of a great organized group and the part it plays in politics. Such activities are not, of course, confined to the American Federation of Labor. The Railroad Brotherhoods take part in political campaigns and have fought many a battle in seating their candidates. When they want a man, they do not hesitate to send organizers into his state or congressional district, call meetings, collect funds, and circulate literature. When necessary they will finance the campaign, circulate a petition to get their candidate nominated, arouse the "people" as well as the workmen, and place speakers on the stump. They point to the election of Senator Brookhart of Iowa, who, although without funds and opposed by the state political machine, was yet elected to the Senate. In these activities the paper, "Labor," is found very useful. For example, the Editorial Committee reported at the annual meeting in 1926 that during the past year over four and one-half million copies of special editions of "Labor" were distributed by the railroad workers in support of congressional candidates whose record had been approved by the authorized representatives of the railroad labor³³ organizations. These special editions did not cost the candidate a penny. The annual report continues:

It is nothing less than a miracle when we were able last fall to reach out with one of our special editions and help decide a hotly contested election in far-off Alaska. Our railroad boys distributed the papers almost to the North Pole, with the result that "Dan" Sutherland, a consistent friend of the workers, was returned as delegate.

³² It must be remembered that this is the "labor" version of this contest. Mr. Garner, doubtless, might have some other details to add.

³³ *Labor*, July 30, 1927.

At the same time LABOR was playing a leading part in congressional elections in states as widely separated as Arizona, Wisconsin, Iowa, Kentucky, Ohio, Massachusetts, and New York.

In these efforts to elect friendly congressmen to Congress, organized labor makes an effort to reach out and secure the support of the general public, as well as that of the unions. The annual report of "Labor" states:

While our paper has not succeeded in securing the circulation which it should have outside the labor movement, it reaches thousands of men and women who play a large part in the shaping of public opinion, and we are constantly receiving evidence that they read the paper and are impressed by its utterances.

LABOR . . . goes to all the members of Congress and leading officials. Every Washington correspondent receives it, and more and more it is getting into the hands of college professors, ministers, editors and business and professional people generally.

In a similar effort to arouse public opinion the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor makes surveys and investigations, giving the results wide publicity.³⁴

Organized labor believes that its methods are succeeding, that it is getting the legislation it goes after,³⁵ and that in measures regarding the welfare of the worker it is due to its leadership and agitation that the support of public opinion is enlisted.

³⁴ Report of the Executive Council, 1926, pp. 49-50.

³⁵ Pamphlet: Legislative achievements of American Federation of Labor.

CHAPTER IX

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES' UNIONS

Organized Employees and the Government. There is another aspect of organized labor represented at the capital fully as important from the point of view of this discussion as the labor bodies considered in the previous chapter. These are the associations composed of the employees of the national government. They are an influential and important factor among the other contending groups at the capital. The nature of their membership makes them of unique interest.

The formation of unions among the federal employees was frowned upon by the authorities at first.¹ Under various executive and departmental orders civil service employees were forbidden to address Congress except through superior officers under penalty of dismissal from the service. It was not until 1912 that Congress passed legislation recognizing therein "the right of persons employed in the civil service of the United States, either individually or collectively, to petition Congress, or any member thereof, or to furnish information to either House of Congress, to any committee or member thereof, shall not be denied or interfered with."² The necessity for such legislation, if the unions of employees were to amount to anything, is obvious.

In fact, the dependence upon favorable legislation is the characteristic of government employees' associations that differentiates them from the ordinary trade union. If the American Federation of Labor and organized labor agitate for some particular bill, it does not always mean that this is the only means by which they may procure their end. It has been pointed out that the Federation prefers to achieve its ends by collective bargaining whenever possible. It is not dependent upon governmental action as are the civil service employees. In the case of the latter, there is only negotiation with the heads of the administrative departments, and

¹ S. D. Spero, *Labor movement in a government industry*, Ch. VI-IX.

² Act of August 24, 1912, 37 Stat. L., 555.

if this fails, legislative lobbying. Since the hours, the conditions of labor, and the compensation are all fixed by law, it is through the enactment of favorable legislation that improved working conditions must come. This puts the government employee to a considerable disadvantage when his condition is contrasted with that of the worker in private industry. Securing an increase in wages or even a minor betterment in working conditions through the cumbrous process of law-making is a round-about method at best, and in most cases one that requires much patient and persistent effort. Frequently, years of agitating are necessary before the desired result is obtained, for not only is the process of law-making complex and difficult, but the legislators are so occupied with a myriad of other matters that it is difficult to get their attention. Questions as to the wage scale of a post office clerk or the hours of a charwoman in a great governmental department are not calculated to attract the attention of statesmen. It is hard to get representatives interested in such matters. Little, indeed, in this regard could be accomplished without organization on the part of the governmental employee. Some men in public life resent the merit system, still regarding public employment as a reward for service to the party. It is not easy for a civil service employee protected by the merit system to make much of an appeal to such a politician. An interesting change, however, takes place in the attitude of these men when approached by a strong union of government employees capable of menacing the reelection of the congressman concerned. Some of the postal workers "play politics" in their local districts and are able in not a few instances to affect the political welfare of a representative and sometimes even that of a senator.³ This is not usual, however.

One method, tried particularly by some of the postal workers, has been to attempt coöperation with their government department and by working through a sympathetic executive secure that which they desire. This procedure has not proved at all satisfactory, and the civil servants have fallen back on the tactics of appealing to Congress through their national associations. They appear then as organized groups of citizens and as such fall within the orbit of this study. Their associations represent them just as other social

³ Spero, 270-74.

and economic groups represent other societies before the government. And, as has just been noted, these governmental relations are of particular importance because of the fact that it is only through legislative action that the unions can obtain the improved conditions which are their aim. They realize that the influence and the strength of their organizations depend largely upon their representing a large proportion of the federal employees, and every effort is accordingly made to recruit all those in the government service.

The Number of Government Employees. In this connection it might be valuable to consider for a minute the number of federal employees.⁴ The grand total of the civilian employees is five hundred sixty thousand, and of these the largest single group is that of the postal workers. These number three hundred fifty thousand. Of the two hundred ten thousand civil government workers remaining, one hundred fifty thousand are employed in the field, *i. e.*, outside of the District of Columbia. One-half of these people are employed in such industrial work as the government conducts in its navy yards, arsenals, and similar plants where the skill of the mechanic and the work of the laborer are required. This leaves between seventy-five thousand and eighty thousand civil servants working for the government outside of the District of Columbia, and engaged in general government service such as the Customs, Internal Revenue, Immigration, the Coast Guard, Custodian Service, Bureau of Animal Industry, Lighthouse Service, and the various scientific and regulatory services in the Department of Agriculture. This group is made up of the men and women who are found in the various government buildings over the country—the great crowd that editorial writers like to refer to disparagingly as “job-holders.” According to this division the federal employees may be roughly divided into four groups: The postal workers, the craftsmen and mechanics, the civil servants in the various services throughout the country, and the office workers in the District of Columbia. This is of course an arbitrary classification, but it is valuable when the federal employees are considered from the point of view of their organizations. It is according to such a classi-

⁴ House Committee on Civil Service, Hearings on salary increase bill, H. R. 6518, 70 Cong. 1 sess., p. 237.

cation that the unions of employees may be most conveniently considered. The postal workers have unions according to the nature of the postal work that certain of the employees perform. To illustrate, men who deliver mail have their National Letter Carriers Association, while the post office clerks have their organization and the postmasters, theirs.

Associations of Federal Employees. The degree of organization that exists among these postal workers is brought forcibly to attention when legislation concerning them is being considered by Congress. It is then that representatives of all of their associations appear at the committee hearings and state the views of the post office workers that they represent. The hearings before the Committee on the Civil Service of the House and Senate attract such a crowd when a question like civil service retirement is under consideration.⁵ What organizations are to be found on these occasions? Spokesmen appeared for the National Association of Letter Carriers, the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, the Railway Mail Association, the United National Association of Post Office Clerks, the National Association of Postal Supervisors, the Rural Letter Carriers' Association, the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers, the Service Postmasters of the United States, the National Council of Postal Employees, the Women's Auxiliary of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, and the National League of District Postmasters.

In addition to these associations of postal employees the following organizations of federal employees were also present: Association for Retirement of United States Civil Employees, Navy Yard Retirement Association, National Association of Retired Federal Employees, Adequate Annuity Association of Federal Employees, and the National Federation of Federal Employees. Of this large number of societies less than half a dozen are of any considerable importance.

The Adequate Annuity Association, for example, is comprised of a small group of low paid clerks, informally held together by the enthusiasm of their organizer.⁶ Some of these associations,

⁵ House Committee on Civil Service, Hearings on the Civil Service Retirement Act, 70 Cong. 1 sess.; Joint hearings on same, 69 Cong. 1 sess.

⁶ This organization was sharply inquired into at the hearings on the civil service retirement act by a member of the House Committee on the Civil Service, 70 Cong. 1 sess., pp. 174-75.

on the other hand, represent very substantial numbers and have been strongly organized for many years. The National Association of Letter Carriers is composed of fifty-four thousand members, the largest group of organized federal employees; The National Federation of Post Office Clerks has approximately forty thousand members, as has also the United National Association of Post Office Clerks. These three organizations, and likewise the Railway Mail Association and the National Alliance of Postal Employees, maintain permanent Washington offices. Among the various postal unions there is considerable disagreement in several important cases. The relationship to the American Federation of Labor is one cause of contention. This will be referred to later in this chapter. The city letter carriers and the rural carriers have never been able to get together; indeed, movements toward forming "one big postal union" for all the employees in the service has never been successful. There is a good deal of petty animosity and some working at cross purposes, but when legislation is pending that is of interest to all parties concerned, the associations of late years have been able to present a united front. These organizations afford some excellent examples of the methods used and the efforts taken to arouse the membership and to get them to exert the requisite pressure upon congressmen. In the case of these organizations, there are certain inherent handicaps against which they must struggle. Government employees are spread so thinly over the country that they cannot very often by their mere numbers play a decisive part in the election chances of a congressman. It is only as they are able to recruit the aid of other groups, such as labor unions or of the public generally, that they can challenge a legislator at the polls.

Activities of these Organizations. This situation is of course realized, and efforts are made by these associations to make their appeal to as wide a public as possible. For example, the following quotation is taken from a circular news letter dated January 30, 1925, issued by the United National Association of Post Office Clerks and concerning a postal salary and revenue bill which had just passed the Senate.⁷ The bill in question had been referred to the House and the Association forthwith sent out a call for help in order to get the bill through the lower body.

⁷ *The Post Office Clerk*, January-February, 1925, p. 3.

The members are urged to "place this matter before the civic, religious, educational, fraternal, social interests and the general public of your community and endeavor in every possible way to enlist their interest and support to the extent that they will communicate their desires to their respective representatives in Congress."⁷

Building up a general public sentiment in favor of a bill is highly desirable, but the method is difficult and very uncertain. The quotation below, from the magazine issued by the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, is enlightening in that it serves to illustrate the recognition on the part of the union of the necessity of getting the constituents of a congressman to work on him before he comes to Washington. If a congressman can be got in the "plastic" state, if he can be got new and inexperienced in the ways of the wily lobbyist, he can often be made to commit himself as favorably inclined to the interests of a given group. This is the object of the postal employees union in the case at hand; it is likewise the case with scores of other national associations. Pledge your congressman before he comes to the capital. And this work of "indoctrinating" congressmen is often effective and very popular, for as Professor Munro observes "the man who goes into public office without even an implied obligation to anybody—he is rare as a Scotchman in a symphony orchestra."⁸ This editorial advises the postal clerks to get to work on their congressmen early.

The Seventieth Congress will assemble on the first Monday in December for the consideration of the Nation's legislative needs. It can be safely predicted that this session will be a busy one. Each succeeding Congress is confronted with new problems due to the constant growth of our country, and the pressure for action upon these ever increasing demands grows more insistent yearly. Thus, competition for recognition at the hands of Congress is keener to-day than in the past.

Postal workers should realize this situation. They must keep in mind that a busy Congress, beset on all sides by numerous interests, will give no priority or preference to postal employees' legislation unless constantly urged to do so.

There is no more effective way to acquaint a member of Congress with legislative needs than through the medium of a personal conference. It is, therefore, suggested that in each congressional

⁸ W. B. Munro, *Invisible government*, 104.

district arrangements be made to discuss with the Congressman prior to his departure for Washington the legislative program of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks as outlined by the Indianapolis Convention. A copy of the October Union Postal Clerk might be left with the Congressman for his study and reference.

In large congressional districts covering a number of offices the delegation might well be composed of employees from the Congressman's home office or the nearest first or second class office. In the case of Senators—and they should be visited the same as Congressmen—the delegation might be best recruited from the Senator's home office.

If your Senator or Congressman is serving his first term, it is particularly important that he be advised as to the legislative program of the postal workers by his home constituents. If this is done, the later approach of the Washington representative is made easier and probably more effective.

Let us start the legislative campaign right now by acquainting members of the Seventieth Congress with our wants BEFORE they leave home for Washington. First impressions are lasting and, in a legislative sense, home impressions are the ones that linger longest and induce action.

Tell your Congressmen and your Senators what you want from the Seventieth Congress and why you want it! They will respond if we shout loud enough to make ourselves heard above the clamor of the other shouters. A word or suggestion now to a member of Congress is better than a sqawk about him later on when Congress adjourns.⁹

The story is continued in the magazine of the month following and the members are informed that "plans are maturing for a vigorous legislative campaign in behalf of the objectives of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks throughout the session of the Seventieth Congress. Conferences have been held with a number of Members of Congress already in Washington and definite steps will be taken when the members arrive to acquaint them with the major employment issues of the organized post office clerks."¹⁰

From the point of view of this discussion these associations of postal clerks differ very little from any other associations of skilled workers in so far as their power of obtaining legislative aid from

⁹ *Union Postal Clerk*, November, 1927, p. 12. Editorial entitled "Tell your Congressman."

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, December, 1927, p. 4.

Congress is concerned. The great difference, of course, is that the postal clerks are entirely dependent upon legislation for the betterment of their condition. But aside from this important fact, the government workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and organized in local chapters all over the country are not essentially unlike the carpenters, the bricklayers, or the other trades organized in their respective unions. Postal clerks and carpenters are both voters, and they are free to use their vote and whatever other influence they can exert in bringing Congress to aid them. They have the ballot through which they can tell a congressman of their approval or their displeasure. This is a power that all the national associations at Washington possess, and one that most of them exercise.

National Federation of Federal Employees. There is, however, a partial exception to this statement; namely, the National Federation of Federal Employees. It may be interesting to inquire into the operation of this organization, which is composed of a large number of non-voters and yet strives to exert a great degree of influence over Congress. Over 20 per cent of the membership is recruited from the District of Columbia. The membership is open to any person in the civil branch of the United States Government, the District of Columbia, and the insular possessions, except those in the Postal Service and mechanics employed by the government. At present the membership numbers forty-five thousand and the Federation itself is composed of 332 local unions. The postal employees, as has already been noted, are strongly organized in their various unions, set up according to the particular sort of post office work in which the employee is occupied. The industrial workers employed by the government all have their trade unions, in which the workers are organized not according to the nature of their employer but according to the nature of their particular work. This leaves the general federal employees, "the job-holders," the individuals who are engaged in a wide variety of tasks, with one organization in which they may pool their interests. It is the object of the National Federation of Federal Employees to take care of this large group. The seventy-five thousand in the field and the sixty thousand in the District of Columbia together constitute the source from which the Federation may draw its strength.

In 1915 a local union was formed in San Francisco by federal employees not in the postal service. Other local unions sprang up in various parts of the country, all becoming in turn affiliated with the Federation of Labor. It was a natural transition for these fifty locals to form a national federation, which body in its turn affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Thus, the National Federation of Federal Employees came into being. The unions in this field are generally composed of federal employees without regard to occupation, with the exception, of course, of the postal workers and the mechanics. In larger places, however, as in Washington, locals are formed among those belonging to one particular department, as for example the "Treasury Local No. 262."

Its Purpose. As stated in the constitution of this organization the objects shall be to "advance the social and economic welfare and education of the employees of the United States and to aid in the perfection of systems that will make for greater efficiency in the various services of the United States. Section 2 states that the "methods for attaining these objects shall be by petition to Congress, by creating and fostering public sentiment favorable to proposed reforms, by coöperation with Government officials and employees, by legislation and other lawful means; provided, that under no circumstances shall this federation engage in or support strikes against the United States Government."

Section 3 is as follows:

With a view of coördinating the energies and influence of all Federal employees in support of our aims, we strongly urge them and all national organizations of Government employees to affiliate to the American Federation of Labor to secure complete coöperation and cohesive action of all interested in the common cause, under one joint jurisdiction.

Further light may be thrown on the activities and the significance of the National Federation of Federal Employees by discussing each of these sections in turn.

The object of the Federation, as announced in the first section of its constitution, is laudable in the extreme. It is desirable that employees organize and attempt through coöperative effort the examination of problems of personnel administration in order to determine the defects in the system and to discover possible im-

provements. Efficiency in personnel administration adheres as much to the benefit of the government as to the employees. The establishment and enforcement of the merit system, the creation and operation of an equitable efficiency rating and promotion system, the proper classification of positions according to their relative importance, the adjustment of remuneration to work, are all matters of mutual concern.¹¹ The point of view of the worker is valuable when the time comes to make rules and regulations concerning the conditions of work; none but the employee possesses such a knowledge of the actual details of administrative problems which those in authority cannot help but find valuable. The officers of the employees' unions make it their business to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the needs and desires of the employees and stand ready to supply congressmen and government officers with authoritative information. The union officers likewise are able to select federal employees who have a specialized knowledge of different phases of the work and bring that knowledge to the attention of the legislators.

The work that is contemplated to "advance the social and economic welfare and education of the employees of the United States" is indicated by citing the program of the organization as determined at the last annual convention. The program is not of a general nature; it is composed of proposals that look to the immediate improvement of conditions. For example, the union advocates these specific changes: Extra pay for night work and overtime; one day's rest in seven; increase in the compensation rates for injured employees; Saturday half-holiday all the year around; more adequate allowance for travel and transportation of household goods; annual and sick leave as a matter of right. Criticism¹² might be made of some of these demands,¹² but they can by no means be accused of vagueness.

The National Federation of Federal Employees has for years been fighting for a suitable reclassification law. In 1923, a law was passed creating the Personnel Classification Board, but the func-

¹¹ W. F. Willoughby, *Principles of Public Administration*, 364-65, Institute for Government Research, *Principles of Administration*.

¹² Mayers, *The Federal Service*, 518-28, Institute for Government Research, *Studies in Administration*.

tioning of this body has proved unsatisfactory to the organized employees, and a consistent effort has been made to secure its abolition and the transfer of its functions to the Civil Service Commission. What the union wants is a "strong impartial central agency with authority to review and adjust actions taken by heads of departments in personnel matters, to bring about uniformity as between departments and to throw into the scale the weight of authoritative, progressive opinion in personnel matters as against the all too frequent arbitrary action of departmental officials, many of whom, as political products, have no background for competent handling of personnel matters."¹³ The employees have also advocated a so-called court of appeals or a board of mediation and conciliation, through which representatives of employer and employee will consider grievances. The union has striven, together with the other organized employees, for an adequate retirement law. Its greatest battle was for the Welch Salary bill passed by the Seventieth Congress; and it considers that the passage of this measure was due to its initiative.¹⁴ Sole responsibility for the success of this legislation is to be attributed to the National Federation of Federal Employees, according to the magazine, "The Federal Employee."¹⁵

The success of the Welch bill is due to the untiring efforts of the National Federation. The testimony presented at the Civil Service Committee hearings, the speed and dispatch with which that testimony was presented, and the fact that the witnesses were representative of all classes of Government workers and all sections of the country was due to the planning of the National Federation, planning which had been going on uninterruptedly for years.

With the increasing strength of the organization, it is natural that, in the future, exertions looking toward betterment of conditions in the Federal service will be crowned with even better success.

With regard, then, to the section of the constitution of the Federation which outlines the object of the organization, it may be accurately stated that so far, the employees have worked for substantial and tangible "improvements" in personnel administration,

¹³ *The Federal Employee*, September, 1925, pp. 1-6.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, May, 1928, p. 1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, June, 1928, p. 14.

such as shorter hours and more pay. It is hardly surprising that little enthusiasm has been exhibited in more general and less personal problems of the civil service; for the government employees seem to regard themselves as a misunderstood and rather neglected group. This attitude is reflected again and again in the editorial columns of their magazine. They feel that they are confronted with an apathetic attitude on the part of the general public, which harbors the idea that government positions are sinecures. Against such indifference, if not downright hostility, the National Federation of Federal Employees is determined to fight for its membership.

Its Methods. With the object and program of the organization outlined above, the methods used in attaining these ends may now be considered. The statement of these methods, as contained in the constitution of the Federation, have already been quoted, namely, petition, creation of favorable public opinion, coöperation with administrative officers, and legislation. This last is the most important item, for it is to federal statutes that the employees must look for improvement in working conditions.

With regard to the work of the Federation, carried on in connection with legislation, no better account could be desired than that given by the Federation itself. Here an active modern lobby sums up for the benefit of its own members the methods employed in forwarding the legislation in which the organization is interested. In an article which appeared in the Federation's official journal, an account is given of "how legislation is made." It is a realistic story, written from the point of view of the lobbyist himself. The concluding paragraphs tell of the part played by the organization's lobby in the process of legislation and that is the section of interest here.¹⁹

And what is the Organization doing all this time the bill is on its way? It is industriously disseminating information about its bill, for one thing. It is arousing interest in its cause, and it is focusing that interest on Congress. Its representatives are interviewing members and asking for their support; or writing to them for the same purpose. For its friends in Congress who must make the arguments for the bill it is gathering data, preparing memoranda, coördinating the efforts of all groups interested in the bill. During

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, April, 1923, p. 13.

the debate its representatives are on watch in the galleries of the Senate or House, not only to see what happens, but to respond to any signal from a friendly House member or Senator who may need a particular bit of information; who may advise a change of tactics; who may wish to revise or amend a clause in the bill for policy's sake but deems it fair to consult the organization interested; also, to keep in touch with friends of the measure who may be called off the floor on other business, notifying them on such occasions when their return is necessary.

It has taken the Organization, by its existence and by its work, to express the cause, and propose the legislative action; to present the merits of the question authoritatively; to arouse and to demonstrate the public support for it; to translate that public support into the potentiality of votes and party capital. No important legislation passes Congress nowadays without active, organized support behind it. No better illustration of that truth can be found than the comparative experience of Government employees before and since the organization of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

To just what extent such an organization may legitimately engage in urging legislation and in striving to influence members of Congress is a question that will bear close scrutiny. Certain considerations must be taken into account when the organized group is composed of civil servants. Since their conditions of work are alone established by law, great abuses might possibly enter once the employees were able to force their will upon the legislature. Then too, since the carrying on of their work is essential to the conduct of government and public affairs, it is of fundamental importance that it be carried on efficiently and under the control of the policy-forming branch of the government. If the workers in the administrative departments were to dictate to the Congress as to what should be done in their case, a deplorable situation might arise. Moreover, since these employees are paid from the nation's coffer, the wage scale as set by general economic conditions is not felt by them. Government employees are not limited by business and economic conditions to the same extent that people in the business world are. If they were able to set their own working conditions by statute, unhampered by competitive forces and unmindful of the law of supply and demand, the result would be inequitable. Should government employees win a degree of control over the legislature, there would result a political and an economic

maladjustment. The political consequences would be worse than in the case of some non-governmental special interest group gaining undue power. The balance of function and of authority within the governmental system itself would be affected. The dock-yard constituencies of Great Britain are notorious.¹⁷

There is little danger of the organized federal employees in this country at the present time exceeding their proper bounds. Their record would warrant no such prophecy. In fact, Dr. Mayers states that "with the single exception of the Retirement Act, the measures contended for by the employees' organizations have been in the main well considered, and would long ago have been placed upon the statute books without the intervention of the employees, had Congress had a correct understanding of the personnel problem."¹⁸ It is pointed out that in the past the employees have been at the mercy of Congress and of their administrative superiors, and that in many vital respects their interests have been neglected. But if this was the case in the past, the unions to-day are striving mightily to remedy the situation, if one is to believe their own accounts. Nor is there any reason to believe that reprehensible methods are resorted to by them. As has already been indicated, the work of the National Federation of Federal Employees includes the gathering and focusing of the opinion of the members on Congress, together with the supplying of information. No one criticises these activities. But may they go further? In the opinion of Mr. W. F. Willoughby "any attempt on their part, or by their members individually, to exert pressure upon the legislature through engaging in political activities having for their purpose to promote the election of representatives favorable, or the defeat of those antagonistic, to their demands . . . can only be condemned."¹⁹

Although federal employees have engaged in such activities at times, there is no indication in the literature of the National Federation of Federal Employees that this organization plays politics. Every effort, however, is made through the locals and through the individual members of the union to bring the program

¹⁷ See Lowell, *Government of England*, I, 149.

¹⁸ Mayers, 561.

¹⁹ Willoughby, 365.

of the organization to the attention of the congressmen, and to make them understand that an alert and powerful membership is watching their attitude toward the legislation in which the organization is interested. This situation is somewhat complicated by the fact that a large number of the members live in the District of Columbia, and being non-voters, are not to be feared by the congressmen, present or prospective. What is an organization to do in a case of this sort? This problem is recognized in the following quotation from the *Federal Employee*.²⁰ The locals are to get busy on their congressmen, while the employees of the District of Columbia are to get after their relatives and friends in the congressional districts.

Senators and representatives are now back home with their fingers on the pulses of their constituencies, seeking guidance in the enactment of laws when Congress is again assembled.

This is the greatest opportunity afforded the locals to exert their influence on their representatives in Congress, bringing forcefully to their attention the situation with respect to the civil service and the legislation most needed looking to an improvement of the service all along the line.

Not only is this true of the locals throughout the country, but the same opportunity is open to thousands of employees here in Washington who will spend their vacations in their home towns in close contact with their senators and representatives—more closely in touch with them than they could possibly be in Washington, where both congressmen and government workers are too busy for that free interchange of ideas so essential in a representative government.

To the congressman, no voice speaks as loudly as that which comes, dimly though it may, from the far off regions which he represents. This is as it should be. And any government worker, any citizen, who fails to express as forcefully as possible his own wishes with respect to legislative needs of his community, fails in the performance of the duty incumbent upon him as a citizen.²⁰

In concluding the discussion of the methods of the Federation the two following excerpts from "The Federal Employee" serve to indicate that this organization has fully grasped the two essentials in lobbying methods. The first quotation shows an understanding

²⁰ *The Federal Employee*, July, 1924, p. 6. This same point is urged in the August, 1926, number, p. 25.

of the proper way in which to handle Congress, and the second exhibits a realization of the part that public opinion has to play in legislation. For success in putting through some particular measure, it is of first importance to convince a committee of Congress.

There are 435 Representatives in the House and ninety-six Senators in the Senate. Of this number, there are twenty-one Representatives on the civil service committee in the House and eleven Senators on the service committee in the Senate. Practically always the decisions of these committees are followed when questions come up in either body. Therefore, the wishes of two hundred and fifty thousand Government employees are pitted against these two committees. Two hundred and fifty thousand Government employees should be able to convince thirty-two members of Congress. . . . It's numbers that will convince Congress, so do assist to hasten the day.²¹

To bring about a general reform, it is necessary to have the support of a substantial portion of the public. It is natural, then, to find the President of the Federation making this statement:

There can be no difference of opinion as to the need for publicity. If the organization is to live and grow we must have it. It is our most powerful weapon of attack against discriminatory legislation and policies. Back of our ordinary organization work and arguments we must always have a friendly public convinced of the justice of our cause.

I therefore urge that the Convention give the problem its earnest attention and provide adequately for a publicity organization ample enough to supplement our legislative work and widespread enough to buttress our position with a friendly and enlightened public opinion.²²

The Relations of the Federation with the American Federation of Labor. The contact between government employees and the American Federation of Labor is significant not only in the case of the National Federation of Federal Employees but in that of the postal unions as well. Some nice ethical points might very well be considered as to the propriety of civil servants allying themselves with such a labor organization. In fact, the organized employees are by no means in agreement as to the attitude that

²¹ *Ibid.*, May, 1928, p. 19.

²² *Ibid.*, December, 1922, p. 15.

should be taken, and this question is found to be the point upon which much of the difference between the workers' unions hinges. There can be little criticism of the mechanics and workers employed by the government in arsenals and shipyards allying themselves with the American Federation of Labor through their respective labor unions. But what of the unions composed exclusively of federal employees that affiliate with the national labor federation? It is generally agreed that government employees should not make use of the strike as a weapon to secure their demands. Should they, then, affiliate their unions to an organization that uses this weapon? Mr. W. F. Willoughby is of the opinion that government employees' organizations "should refrain from joining forces with organizations making use of the strike as one of their weapons of warfare."²³ A substantial number of federal employees' unions are of this same opinion. An authoritative statement of the viewpoint of these organizations is given by the president of one of the most powerful postal workers' unions in the following quotation:

We hold that it is not right. It is not in accord with our oath of office. We hold that a sailor in the Navy, or a soldier in the Army, and the members of Congress themselves have not any more right to form local unions and affiliate with the American Federation of Labor or any other labor organization than we have, and we do not do it.

We believe, and this thought is a fundamental of our organization, that anyone entering the Government service cannot therefore regard himself as a private citizen. He becomes a part of the Government. He has a statutory place in our scheme of government and in his statutory place, regardless of how humble it might be, he is just as important to our Government as is the most exalted officer or the Chief Executive himself.

Employees in the Postal Service like all other employees in the classified civil service of the United States retain their employment only when their conduct conforms to the civil service laws, rules and regulations as laid down by the Congress. Such civil service laws and regulations very properly forbid civil service employees from participating actively in politics and from using their public office in the interest of or to the detriment of any candidate for public office. The American Federation of Labor is not only a labor organization but it is also a very distinctive political organi-

²³ Willoughby, 366.

zation. It enters the political arena in all sections of the country. This was evidenced very much in the last general election when it supported the newly-formed third party. Organizations to which the American Federation of Labor issued charters are subordinate to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor and when they subscribe to such a constitution they must perforce comply with its mandates. Hence, Government employees who affiliate their organizations with the American Federation of Labor or any other outside politico-labor organization are not only acting in a manner entirely inconsistent with their oath of office, but they are actually violating the civil service laws and regulations under which they are employed and in doing so they are subjecting themselves individually and collectively to summary dismissal from the public service. This is just another reason why the United National Association of Post Office Clerks, the National Rural Letter Carriers' Association and the National Association of Postal Supervisors, the National Council of Railway Mail Supervisory Employees, the National Association of Postmasters, and the League of District Postmasters, representing approximately 75 per cent of all postal employees, have steadfastly declined to enter into any outside affiliation.²⁴

This is a very adequate statement of the opinion of one party. But there are important groups which take a different attitude. Accordingly, we find affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the National Federation of Federal Employees, the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, the National Association of Letter Carriers, and the Railway Mail Association. These are powerful organizations, with large memberships. The question was directly put to these associations: What is the particular gain of being affiliated with the American Federation of Labor? Their answer was the following:

For the moral effect. We believe that with the vote of three million members of the American Federation of Labor we can with their ballot achieve remedial legislation that bullets never could do, or strikes.²⁵

This response tells the story in one sentence. It also explains the reason for bringing into the present study a discussion of the relations between the American Federation of Labor and civil service

²⁴ Joint hearings on Civil service retirement act, 69 Cong. 1 sess.; testimony of Mr. C. P. Franciscus, President of the United National Association of Post Office Clerks, pp. 148-49.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 156.

unions. When it is considered that it is only through legislation that government employees may get their demands acquiesced in, and when it is remembered that their numbers are relatively small and their distribution scattered widely, it is easy to understand their desiring to ally themselves with the strong national labor federation. It may be thought that the consideration of the relations of the National Federation of Federal Employees to the American Federation of Labor has been overlooked. This is not the case. What has been said generally applies particularly to this federal employees' organization, the more so since a considerable proportion of its membership reside in the District of Columbia and have no vote. Alliance with the American Federation of Labor is especially helpful in this case.

Through this affiliation the potential power of that organization stands behind every attempt which may be made by the employees' unions to secure favorable Congressional action in matters of hours, wages, working conditions, etc. The source of strength in the American Federation in Congress is common knowledge. It consists in the ability to encompass, or at least to threaten, the defeat or reelection of almost any member of Congress who comes from a district in which organized labor is a factor, and in not a few states the ability to affect seriously the chances of reelection of a Senator. It is not commonly appreciated that in the more or less equal division of the voting strength between the two parties that normally prevails in most districts and in many states, an organized group, even though relatively small, which is able to throw the entire voting power of its membership on one side or the other of the scales, is a factor whose importance is out of all proportion to its relative numbers as compared with the entire voting population of the district or state. It thus results that to an increasing degree a Congressman, who represents a constituency in which organized labor is an important political factor, opposes the wishes of the employees' unions at his peril; and even a Senator cannot ignore them with entire impunity.

The National Federation of Federal Employees, up to the present time, has made perhaps more consistent and direct use politically of its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor than have the postal unions. Nor has it made any attempt at concealment of this coöperation.²⁶

²⁶ Mayers, 555.

This last statement is as true to-day as it was when first made eight years ago. The publications of both the American Federation of Labor and of the National Federation of Federal Employees indicate that in the fight recently made for a retirement act, these two organizations worked hand in glove. "The Federal Employee"²⁷ states, for example, that "legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor in company with representatives of Federal employees' organizations visited the various Senators who had opposed the House bill and urged them to permit the question to come to a vote." The plea of these combined forces was successful, and the retirement bill was voted upon and passed.

Indeed, the legislative successes of the organizations of federal employees are closely linked with the alliance between these associations and the American Federation of Labor. It is interesting to note this alliance among the lobbies in Washington. It is but another example of that interplay of forces that is found in the great vortex of currents and surges that affect the actual government of this country. The federal employees hold their own among the other groups of citizens that come to the halls of Congress with their special interests. Whether they exert more than their share of influence through their labor allies and through their organization, is a difficult question to answer. Whatever advantage they gain from such factors must be counterbalanced by the inherent disadvantages, already noted, that result from their peculiar relationship to the government itself.

²⁷ *The Federal Employee*, September, 1926, XI, 11.

CHAPTER X

PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES

Professional Associations Appear at the Capital. The voice of organized labor is a familiar sound to the ears of the public. To state that the American Federation of Labor takes part in the framing and passing of legislation is merely to repeat a generally recognized fact. Of late, another kind of organized labor has appeared in the ranks of the extra-legal representatives in the capital. Professional societies in a number of cases have opened offices at Washington in order to be near Congress. The spokesmen for these vocational groups are not so numerous or so powerful as are some of the ambassadors of American industry or agriculture, but their influence is increasing. There are still several professions of the very first importance that do not maintain permanent offices in Washington. The American Medical Association and the American Bar Association, for example, send special witnesses and representatives only when occasion demands. Some vocational groups, however, within the past few years have taken their place with the other organized groups in the capital. Generally speaking, when it comes to their lobbying activities, they are less militant than other national associations. In fact, in the case of these professional societies, more than with any of the other organizations, their interest in legislative matters is entirely incidental. The aim and purpose of all professional societies is to act as the representatives of their respective professions, both among the members and before the public generally.

For members of a like profession to organize is doubtless one of the oldest of social phenomena. The famous Oath of Hippocrates, for example, indicates that even in the fourth century before Christ, physicians had established a guild or corporation and that they had a code of professional ethics. The point to be stressed in this chapter is that to-day in the national capital there are the duly appointed representatives of many present day guilds of professional people, who when the occasion arises, appear before

the government and the public and speak authoritatively for their group. Moreover, in their relations with Congress, these spokesmen consider themselves as much the delegates of their vocational membership as the congressman does of his congressional district.

Associations representing many kinds of professions are to be found in Washington. Their objects and general point of view are well expressed in the "literature" they publish. The following quotation¹ is illustrative of the organization, government, and aim of a typical professional society:

The American Institute of Architects is the National Organization of the architectural profession, bearing to architecture a relation similar to that of the American Bar Association to law and of the American Medical Society to medicine. Founded in 1857, its influence on American architecture and the practice of the profession has been propounded and to-day its counsel is truly national.

The Institute is composed of individual architects, grouped locally into chapters. Its government is based on the chapter as a unit. The United States has been divided into districts, each of which becomes a territory of a Chapter. Every Institute member residing in the territory of a Chapter automatically became a member thereof upon election. Institute and Chapter memberships are co-existent and co-dependent. The Chapters are self-governing and self-determining so far as affairs within the territory of the Chapter are concerned, subject only to the broad national policies fixed annually by the delegates of the Chapters in Convention assembled. Elections to, and terminations of, active memberships in the Institute and Chapters are by Institute and not by Chapter action. The Chapters, however, elect their own Associates and Honorary Members.

The institute's long life of effectiveness has been made possible by the democratic procedure through which the will of the membership is expressed in the governing agencies of the body. The Delegates from the Fifty-seven Chapters assembled in Annual Convention, constitute the highest authority in the organization. They elect Officers and Directors and determine all policies of the Institute in professional matters. The Board of Directors governs the society between Conventions and holds three meetings a year, one immediately preceding and one immediately following the Convention, and one in the late fall. The Institute desires to be representative of the architectural profession. It desires to be able to say to the National Government, to the States, to City

¹ Booklet issued by the American Institute of Architects.

Councils and Commissions, it is speaking for the architects of the country.¹

Proportion of Professional People Organized. The extent to which this ambition to speak for a profession is realized by the organization depends in large measure upon the percentage of the membership of the profession concerned, who have affiliated themselves with their group associations. There are some ten thousand practicing architects in this country, and of this number a few more than three thousand are members of the American Institute of Architects. Of the 148,664 physicians in the United States, 91,792, or over sixty-one per cent, are members of the American Medical Association. There are 123,162 lawyers in this country. Hardly more than twenty per cent are members of the American Bar Association. In the case of 891,555 teachers, a fraction more than nineteen per cent are joined in their professional organization, the National Education Association.²

These figures are significant when it is remembered that the voices of these associations, even if unwittingly, very often give the impression of speaking for their respective professions as a whole. While for many purposes, they may not represent the real consensus of opinion of the entire profession, still their voice is the coherent, the articulate expression of an active minority, and consequently bears more weight than the silence of the mass. This, to be sure, applies to all organizations of voters, though the figures are not always easily available. At the same time the fact should be considered that the members of a profession who compose these societies are, generally speaking, the leaders, the more active, the more interested, and the more important, though there may be many individual exceptions. Before the public and before the government the natural tendency is for such associations to be accepted, on their face, as the authoritative spokesmen of the professional groups they represent in part. In varying degrees this applies in the case of the farmers, laborers, business men, and other organized groups.

Desire to Maintain Contacts with Government. That these associations of professional people maintain their representatives in

² From chart supplied by the Research Bureau of the National Education Association, entitled "Membership in Professional and Technical Organizations."

the capital in order to be at the seat of the national government, is illustrated time and again in their literature. It is no mere coincidence; nor is it merely a sentimental desire to have national headquarters at the nation's headquarters. There may be more specific reasons in some individual cases, but the advantage of being near the governmental departments and Congress is realized by those "supplemental representatives" of organized vocations. For example, the American Bankers' Association states:

An inestimable advantage of membership is the service made possible by the maintenance of the branch office of the Association in Washington, D. C., under a Deputy Manager of the Association representing the National Bank Division. Through this medium the service to National banks is made prompt and comprehensive, amounting to personal representation at Washington. It embraces witnessing the destruction of cancelled currency, the presentation of suggestions and complaints and the prosecution of claims before all departments of the Government, including the offices of the Comptroller of the Currency, the Federal Reserve Board and the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

In addition to rendering service to National Banks this branch office of the Association at Washington gives equal attention to the needs of members of the Association in the other Divisions when they require service at Washington.

* * * *

The Legal Department prepares digests of federal legislation of interest to banks. This constitutes a most valuable means of keeping them accurately informed as to developments in this important field affecting their business. These digests are published under the auspices of the Committee on Federal Legislation, with which the Legal Department works closely.

Through the branch office in Washington the Legal Department performs effective service in arranging interviews between members of Congress and members of this Association, in keeping informed as to the latest developments in important legislation in which bankers are interested, in making arrangements for hearings by Committees of Congress and in many other ways.

The Department also coöperates with the Committee on State Legislation which has materially promoted the welfare of banking by bringing about greater uniformity in State bank laws.

In conjunction with both the Federal and State committees, the Legal Department takes an active part in opposing unsound legislation affecting banking and in advocating legislation that will enable banks to perform more effectively their functions of

business service to the nation, to their own communities and their customers.³

This is merely further evidence of the functions performed by the modern lobby in the welfare of the particular group of voters for which it speaks. The desirability is obvious of maintaining a liaison between the bankers of the country and the Treasury Department and the other boards and commissions having so much to do with the fiduciary affairs of the nation. Moreover, as the departments of the government cover almost all the interests of the citizen, many varieties of associations find it to the advantage of their members to maintain contacts with the numerous other branches of the government service. By way of illustration, this quotation from the literature of the Chartered Association of American Inventors may be cited:⁴ "When you become a member of the Chartered Association, you will have your own Washington representatives at the center of patent interest in the United States."

This idea of having a special spokesman before the government in the interest of the group is found in all varieties of professional groups. The case of the engineering profession is worthy of note.⁵ There is the American Society of Civil Engineers, the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, and the Society of Automotive Engineers. It is evident that these societies adequately cover the fields of engineering. They have aided materially in advancing engineering knowledge and practice. They have maintained a high professional standard. Internally they have performed important services to the members of the respective professions. But their efforts have not stopped here. The national, state, and local engineering societies of the country have combined into a national federation, the governing body of which is known as the American Engineering Council. This council is the general spokesman for the engineers before the people and the national government. Offices are maintained in the capital. The degree and the manner in which this body

³ The American Bankers' Association Booklet, 9, 14.

⁴ Chartered Association of American Inventors, Membership Invitation, 9.

⁵ Department of Commerce, Trade association activities, 187-91.

has acted in this capacity is summarized thus by the Department of Commerce:

The object of the organization is to further the public welfare wherever technical knowledge and engineering experience are involved and to consider and act upon matters of common concern to the engineering and allied technical profession—it is the engineers' contribution to the community, State, and Nation.

As an example of the federation's primary functions, it has assisted in many national problems, such as the proposed establishment of a National Department of Public Works, the preparing of an improved topographical map of the United States, providing assistance to the United States Patent Office, revision of the mining laws, improving classification and compensation of scientific employees of the Government. It has helped American industry, the Government, and even foreign countries by the preparation of reports on the elimination of waste in industry and the 12-hour shift in American industry. It has coöperated with other organizations in similar projects.*

The concept of an entity representing a certain group of the citizenry and contributing the aid and the specialized knowledge of this group in matters of common concern is well exemplified by this council. The same attitude is seen again and again in other professional societies.

A large proportion of the professional societies that have opened headquarters in Washington are those of women. The police-women, the home economists, the penwomen, the farm women, the women in industry, the nurses, the physicians, and the deans of women's colleges, all have their representatives at the capital and all take an interest in legislative questions. By way of illustrating the objects of these associations, the summarized program of work for 1927-1928 of the American Home Economics Association may be taken. This society is "devoted to the interests of efficient living in the home, the school, the institution, and the community." In part the objects are, as follows:

To continue promotion of membership.

To give active support to such state and federal legislation as has been endorsed by the Association.

To emphasize the importance of an adequate program of home economics research.

* *Ibid.*, 191.

To increase subscriptions to the Journal of Home Economics and to increase interest in the Journal through more effective use of its articles by teachers.

To obtain effective publicity for home economics.⁷

As will be shown in the following chapter, these organizations, together with others devoted to the interests of women, have developed a machinery for coöperative effort in their relations with the national government.

Kinds of Professional Societies Present. In addition to the strictly professional associations in which the entire membership is made up of active practicing and accredited workers, there are other societies where professionals partially compose the membership and others merely interested in the subject likewise contribute their support. These societies are interested in promoting the groups' welfare and of attracting the attention of the public to their field. Moreover, their basis of membership is a little broader. Mention of two such organizations, strikingly dissimilar in purpose, may be made; namely, the American Remount Association and the American Federation of Arts. That there is such a great difference between these two societies in aim, merely serves to emphasize the variety of organized groups that find it wise to maintain contacts with the government.

The American Remount Association had its inception in France among the officers in active service overseas at the time of the war. It was confined to this professional group at first, although to-day it is composed of a variety of persons, all of whom have a more or less professional interest in horses. Horsemen, horse breeders, polo players, and gentlemen riders make up the membership. The immediate object of the association is to breed a good riding horse, an animal that at the same time will be suitable for driving and general utility work and for use in national defense. It is this latter object that brings this association within the limits of this discussion. It is thus seen that even the breeders of horses find it to their advantage to have a spokesman and a representative before the government. Moreover, this association states that one of its main objects is: "To protect owners, users, breeders, and

⁷ The American Home Economics Association; Leaflet.

dealers, against unjust and unreasonable legislation and to secure just and reasonable legislation for them.”⁸

From the appointed and official representative of horse flesh at the capital, turn to the spokesman for the artist, the art student, and the lover of art. The American Federation of Arts is composed of organizations, such as art schools, artists' societies, and museums, together with those individuals who are “striving for the development of art in America either through production or the cultivation of appreciation.”⁹ Its objects in part are: “To encourage and foster endeavor . . . and to furnish a channel through which public opinion, instrumental in securing better legislation may find expression.”

Its activities in arousing public interest in and appreciation of art are many. Lecturers are sent to carry the message and traveling exhibits are furnished to clubs and societies, museums, and chambers of commerce all about the country. The Federation has endeavored to have Congress appropriate a sum for a National Gallery building, but without success. It is concerned with legislation of immediate interest to the artist and the designer, such as copyright bills and design registration acts. These bills met with reverses in the Sixty-ninth Congress, expiring on the last day of the session. The secretary reports:

In order to secure legislation, new bills will have to be introduced at the coming session.

Automatic copyright, protecting artists against mis-use of their paintings and works in sculpture, and safe-guarding designers against the ruthless pirating of their designs, is of real importance, and it should be the part of the American Federation of Arts and its members to see that these bills are carefully drawn and satisfactory before enactment into law. The fact that the American Federation of Arts has its headquarters in Washington and is in close touch with Government activities puts it in a particularly favorable position to render this service.¹⁰

⁸ To All Those Who Are Interested in the Breeding of Better Horses, leaflet published by The American Remount Association.

⁹ The American Federation of Arts, Constitution, Article II.

¹⁰ Annual Report of the Secretary, 1927, pp. 17-18.

The foregoing examples indicate at least that the professional groups having headquarters in Washington are varied and numerous. The fact that all of them have some interest in legislation is worthy of note. As spokesmen for their particular groups, they must be considered along with the other Washington representatives as taking part in the supplemental representative system that has developed in the capital within the past decade. Where the field is so broad the treatment must necessarily be brief in describing most of the associations placed in this category. However, to examine one professional association in some detail may prove enlightening.

The National Education Association. One of the most powerful and certainly one of the most highly organized professional associations in the capital, at the present time, is the National Education Association. It is a very active organization and serves to illustrate the methods and general purpose of a professional society in its most highly developed form. As stated in its charter: "the purpose and the object of said corporation shall be to elevate the character and advance the interests of the profession of teaching and to promote the cause of education in the United States."¹¹ The association describes itself as the "voice of those in the service," and "the power plant of educational progress."¹² The association is supported by the membership fees of two dollars, five dollars, or one hundred dollars (for life membership).

In order to carry out its function of representing the teaching profession, delegates are sent by the active members to a representative assembly whence comes the ultimate authority for all transactions.¹³ Moreover, the membership is divided into a number of departments which include the various divisions within the profession. The following list of departments indicates this classification:¹⁴

¹¹ Section 2, Charter granted by Congress.

¹² The National Education Association, *Its Goal*, 1927-1928. Leaflet.

¹³ Annual Report of the Secretary, 1924, p. 5.

¹⁴ Addresses and Proceedings, 1927, p. 5.

Adult Education	School Health and Rural Education
Business Education	Science Instruction
Class Room Teachers	Secondary School Principals
Deans of Women	Social Studies
Elementary School Principals	Superintendence
Kindergarten-Primary Education	Teachers Colleges
Lip-Reading	Visual Instruction
Music Education	Vocational Education
Rural Education	

This gives some idea of the extent to which the interests of the various subdivisions within the Association are regarded. The objects of these departments is to enable the workers in these fields to get together once a year and discuss the questions pertaining to their subject. Programs are arranged and papers are read. The proceedings of the meetings, together with those of the national convention held at the same time and place, are embodied in one volume and go toward making up a large collection of similar volumes, constituting a growing literature upon national educational problems. Through the representative people gathered at the annual meetings, the reports that are read, the sentiments that are exchanged and the resolutions that are drawn up, a consensus of opinion is arrived at that is considered the common voice of the profession.

Divisions of the Association. The headquarters organization carries on the activities of the National Education Association through several divisions, those of interest to this discussion being the Division of Publication, Research, and Legislative Service. Publicity departments in various organizations do not differ a great deal in fundamentals, or very greatly in methods. The following quotation from the Director of the Division of Publications indicates sufficiently the nature of the Association's work in this regard.

The publicity which the Association has been able to obtain has shown a marked increase during the year. This is partly the cause of and partly the result of the increasing public interest in popular education. So great is the amount of newspaper publicity inspired by the activities of the Association that it is not feasible to attempt to keep clippings of it. Merely the editorial comment on the 1924 meeting of the Department of Superin-

tendence at Chicago as clipped from newspapers throughout the United States fills three large scrap books. The aim of the publicity activities of the Association has been to supply newspapers and magazines with the raw materials or with information as to possible sources, leaving them to make their own interpretations and to do their own writing. This policy has the advantage of training each year a considerable number of newspaper and magazine writers in the art of handling educational material in a popular way.

A feature of the year's publicity work has been the use of the radio.¹⁵

There is the usual "house organ," in this case called the *Journal of the National Education Association*. There are the annual proceedings, as well as an increasingly large number of committee reports and special bulletins, besides the regular yearbooks and departmental bulletins. The total printed output amounts to more than a hundred million pages annually.

Some of the most substantial work done by the Association has been its accomplishments in getting at the facts concerning educational problems and in presenting them in an effective way. It is factual material that an organization such as the Association finds effectual in its work in advancing the welfare of the teaching profession, both in internal problems of school administration and in the many problems arising between the schools and the community or the government. For example, if there is a reduction of teachers' salaries threatened, facts concerning salaries and school costs are placed in the hands of teachers and the school authorities and an understanding arrived at upon some reliable basis. However, much of the work of the Division of Research is done in coöperation with the Department of Publicity, or with the Legislative Division. In fact, the activities of the latter division form, for the purposes of this discussion, one of the most interesting features of the work of the National Education Association.

Legislative Activities. In its field the National Education Association has been one of the militant modern lobbies. It is not satisfied merely with drawing up resolutions. For the past ten years or more there has been an active fight over the establish-

¹⁵ Annual report of the Secretary, 1924, p. 26.

ment of a federal department of education. The National Education Association has ever been the chief advocate of this measure. The associations line up on each side, and a drawn battle ensues before the committees of every Congress. Deluges of propaganda are let loose, and floods of letters and telegrams engulf the waste-paper baskets of congressmen. The National Education Association on the one side and the National Catholic Welfare Council on the other lead their cohorts into battle. Educators, teachers, influential citizens, and clubwomen are brought from every state in the union to testify. This effort of the National Education Association to have an important piece of legislation passed is an excellent example of the activity of an organized group working whole-heartedly for a specific bill. It has sponsored for years this measure to create a federal department of education, with a secretary in the President's cabinet.¹⁰ The National Education Association started the movement in 1866, just four years after the establishment of the Department of Agriculture. It presented a memorial to Congress and the immediate result was the presentation of a bill to create an independent establishment. They succeeded in having a department created with a commissioner in charge, although it was reduced to the rank of a bureau a year later. For then until after the World War, very little was done. Senator Owen made the periodic presentation of a bill advocating the establishment of a department of education with appropriations adequate to "enable it to investigate educational conditions and to promote desirable educational movements throughout the country." But this bill did not secure sufficient support to bring it out of committee. For years little progress was made.

In 1918 the National Education Association appointed a Commission on the National Emergency in Education to make a study of the existing educational system. The conclusions led to a bill advocating a federal department of education and the granting of substantial educational subsidies. This bill was introduced by the chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor; it was subsequently revised and reintroduced as the Smith-Towner bill.¹¹

¹⁰ *Congressional Digest*, May, 1926, p. 152, gives a "History of legislation to establish a Federal Department of Education."

¹¹ S. 1017 and H. R. 7.

In succeeding sessions of Congress, bills were introduced to the same end: hearings were held, amendments were offered, the bills were revised, and reported back favorably. The National Education Association has renewed its fight before each Congress. To demonstrate how this extra-legal body is fighting for this legislative measure, the reports of the Legislative Division are cited in part, as follows:

The legislative secretary was employed to develop lay support for the program of the National Education Association and to promote in particular the Education Bill. Believing that the way to do successful legislative work was to do it, the secretary has, with the approval of the Executive Committee confined her activities largely to the National Capital, making trips into the field only when they proved of immediate advantage to the legislative work.

In developing support for the Education Bill 43,617 pieces of literature were distributed, 2680 personal letters sent out, in addition 1340 letters were written in answer to requests for information on the Bill, 9521 form letters in 32 sets were sent out to various coöperating groups, 36 meetings of the two sub-committees of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee supporting the two measures were attended, 105 individuals of prominence were interviewed, 4 large group conferences were held, 21 addresses were made to educational and lay groups in 11 States, 7 national conventions of allied organizations were attended and endorsements of five new national organizations were secured.¹⁸

The hearings before the House and Senate committees was attended, many witnesses brought in, and a long list of supporting organizations and educational crusaders favoring the bill were presented.¹⁹ The report continues:

The volume of the Senate hearing numbers 402 pages and the House hearing will probably number 1000 pages. The Research Department of the National Education Association prepared 26 charts on the various needs and weaknesses of our educational system which were reproduced in the Record. Altogether an exceedingly strong case has been made and it now remains for us to educate public opinion in the 435 congressional districts of the United States. This is the immediate task and it must be done this summer while Congressmen are at their homes. Delegations,

¹⁸ Annual Report of the Secretary, 1924, p. 33.

¹⁹ House Committee on Education, Hearings on H. R. 3923, February 20, 1924-June 4, 1924, pp. 243-88, 68 Cong. 1 sess.

personal letters, and petitions must be sent to them. Special work must be done with the education committees of both Houses to have the bill reported out early in the short session. Here is a challenge for every individual teacher and for every organization of teachers. Who will fail to meet it?

The National Education Association, although devoting a great deal of attention to the education bill in its legislative work, does not do so to the exclusion of other matters that come before Congress. It has taken a stand on a variety of measures. Glancing back through the resolutions²⁰ drawn up at different annual conventions, it is found that resolutions have been adopted upon world peace, educational appropriations in the Mississippi flood area, and child labor. The Association has also asked Congress to take such pictures, literature, and tokens as are denied the privilege of the mails, out of interstate commerce as well; it has requested the removal of any discrimination regarding the payment of federal income tax by teachers in the territorial and insular possessions of the United States; it has urged literacy tests as a qualification for citizenship.

Attitude Toward Political Parties. In view of the interest of this society in legislative matters, it is significant to note its attitude with regard to political parties in contrast with that of the farmers, the laborers, and other groups that go to the party conventions with their planks, or that actually participate in elections.

It has become a settled policy of the Association not to use its officers or machinery to promote the interests of any candidate or of any political party. Members participate in political campaigns as they see fit, but they do not do so under the direction of the Association. This policy gives prestige and power. It holds the confidence and goodwill of the best people of all parties. When the Association advocates a principle or cause, party managers listen in because they realize that the people will pay attention. Now and then a member expresses the view that the Association should fight for good candidates for Congress and against bad ones. Politicians encourage that thought as they see advantage in it for themselves. But men and women of vision will never favor abandoning the present policy of keeping the Association out of political campaigns.²¹

²⁰ From National Education Association, Resolutions, containing resolutions from 1894-1927.

²¹ Annual Report of the Secretary, 1927, p. 14.

American Council on Education. Of equal interest with the National Education Association in a discussion of the representation of educational matters before the national government is the American Council on Education.

This is an association composed of three classes of members: constituent, associate, and institutional; the first being educational organizations, the second being organizations "having interests related to the work of the Council," and the third consisting of colleges, universities, professional and technical schools, and other institutions concerned with the activities of higher education.

Among the score or more of associations composing the constituent membership are to be found organizations such as the American Association of Junior Colleges, American Association of University Professors, American Association of University Women, Association of American Colleges, Association of Land Grant Colleges, American Library Association, National Education Association, Catholic Education Association, and the Society for the Promotion of Engineering Education.

It is in this class of the membership that the final authority for the Council's actions is located. The constitution expressly sets forth that "whenever a vote is taken, if there are negative votes, the institutional members shall be counted separately and no action shall be valid unless supported by a majority of the constituent members present and voting."

In the list of institutional members are institutions of education from forty-five of the states to the number of more than two hundred colleges and universities.

By way of illustrating the type of organizations that constitute the associate membership, the following may be cited: American Historical Association, American Institute of Architects, Modern Language Association of America, United Y. M. C. A. Schools, and the National Research Council.

The purpose for which the various classes of members are bound together is thus stated in the constitution:

The general object of the Council is to promote and carry out coöperative action in matters of common interest to the associations represented. It is understood that such matters will lie mainly in the field of university and college work, and in related educational fields. The Council was organized to meet national

needs in time of war and will always seek to render patriotic service. It will also encourage international coöperation in educational matters.²⁹

As a matter of fact it has not always been an easy matter to find these projects upon which all the members may find that they have common interests. For example, when it comes to the question as to what position the Council as such is to take with regard to the proposed bill creating a federal department of education, an unequivocal stand is not possible.

Concerning the attitude of the Council toward the proposed department the Director stated before a House Committee:

I have considered whether it is possible to get a vote of that organization that would have any significance, and have decided that it is practically impossible, because it is composed of 14 [now 22] associations, of which the National Education Association is one, and the Catholic Educational Association is another, and it seems very difficult to get a vote of that organization that would have any significance; therefore I have not attempted to get a vote of the organizations, and I disclaim representing the organizations who are representing any number of voters who are back of this proposition.³⁰

The point, however, of mentioning the American Council on Education here is simply to indicate that higher institutions of learning, the colleges and universities of the country, are cognizant of the desirability of maintaining at the capital an office and a well-paid director to look after their interests. The Council by no means confines itself to watching the federal government and appearing before committees of Congress. The scope of its activities is very much wider, but it is significant to note that the activities of this organization do include contacts with the government. The Educational Record, published by the Council, devotes a considerable number of pages to telling of the progress of "pending education bills." Members throughout the country are kept informed of legislative happenings at the capital of concern to education. This organization is like hundreds of others in that there is likewise to be noted a "committee on federal legislation,"

²⁹ Annual Report of American Council on Education, 1927, p. 31.

³⁰ House Committee on Education, Hearings on H. R. 3923, 68 Cong. 1 sess., p. 289.

directed by an active chairman, who comes before committees of congress "to speak his piece." Including among its membership the foremost colleges of the country and numbering on its councils many of the leaders in academic circles, the American Council on Education speaks with the power of numbers and the influence of intellect and specialized knowledge. It is the respected spokesman of a powerful group.

Scientific Associations. There are in Washington several other organizations that may very well be mentioned at this point, although they do not fall entirely within the purview of this book. They are not "organized groups" in the sense in which the phrase is used here, and considered from the numerical viewpoint their presence is not significant. They do not represent a bloc of votes or a community of voters before whom the congressman may tremble. They would never threaten his reelection even if they could conceivably be interested in such a thing. The organizations in question are those of a scientific nature. Their only connection with this discussion is that they represent a certain small but learned group, that on some occasions they exert a considerable influence upon the thought and opinion of government officers and the public likewise, and that in rarer instances they are interested in legislative matters. Chief among them are the National Research Council, the Institute of Economics, and the Institute for Government Research.

The National Research Council was organized in 1916 at the request of the President by the National Academy of Sciences, under its congressional charter, as a measure of national preparedness.²⁴ The Council now devotes its energies to the promotion and support of scientific research in general and continues to maintain close coöperative relations with government scientific bureaus and their activities. It is itself in no sense a government bureau, being supported by private funds and being entirely controlled by "its representatively selected membership and democratically chosen officers." In fact, the only aspect of the National Research Council of interest to this discussion is its capacity of spokesmen for the scientific men of the country. Its membership is largely composed of delegates appointed from seventy-five

²⁴ Executive Order, May 11, 1918.

or more of the major scientific and technical societies of the country. "The Council is not an organization imposed on, or independent of, the great body of scientific workers of America. It is truly representative of them."²⁵ Thus a congress of science is found side by side with the innumerable other organizations maintaining representatives at the capital. It must be emphasized, however, that the chief interest of the Council is in research and in "scientific undertakings of rather large extent which involve the coöperative and coördinated working together of scientific men and laboratories representing various fields of special interest." The Council concerns itself with the natural sciences.

Institute of Economics. Working in the field of the humanistic studies are the Institute of Economics and the Institute for Government Research. These organizations have been combined as part of the Brookings Institution, which is soon to embark upon an extensive program in the field of the social or humanistic sciences. It would take us far afield from this discussion to undertake any full description of the scope and activities of these organizations. Concerning the Institute of Economics be it noted that it was established "with the sole object of ascertaining the facts about current economic problems and of interpreting these facts for the people of the United States in the most simple and understandable form." The accomplishment of this object has meant not only the publication of a notable series of books, but has also included lecture work, the contribution of articles on economic questions to journals, and the participation in economic and business conferences by members of the staff. Important as are such activities, it is not these that bring the Institute of Economics within this discussion. Such work has an indirect effect upon the processes of government to the extent to which it contributes to the formation of an intelligent public opinion upon current problems. The Institute has made its influence more directly felt, however, and finds that it is being "increasingly called upon for information and advice in connection with legislation."

It has been the consistent policy of the Institute never to take the initiative in seeking in any way to influence legislation but, on the other hand, always to respond, in so far as possible, to

²⁵ *Educational Review*, LXII, 368, December, 1921.

requests which come to us for information and for guidance in investigations. We have, in fact, rendered service of no little importance in connection with both national and international conferences, with the agricultural coöperative movement, with the development of labor, financial, and fiscal policies, and with numerous legislative measures where Congressional leaders or Administrative officials have sought our aid. It is believed that in this field of direct service, safeguarded in the manner described above, the Institute has an exceptional opportunity.

If it were the purpose of this book to discuss fully the many influences which form and help determine the legislative work of Congress, a complete account of bodies such as the Institute of Economics must needs be given. In so far, however, as this organization functions as the mouthpiece of expert economic opinion and voices in a sense the thought of economists in this country, it has a place in a discussion of the various agencies at Washington that in their entirety present such a cross-section of the life and thought of this country.

Institute for Government Research. What has been said of the Institute of Economics applies likewise to the Institute for Government Research. The only force behind these organizations is the power of intelligence and the influence of expert knowledge. No congressman feels forced to take their advice and follow their suggestions for fear of antagonizing any definite body of voters. The force of these organizations lies in no such sanction. Here is a difference that sets them definitely in a separate category from the associations at the capital that represent organized groups of citizens bound together either for their own welfare or for the accomplishment of some end which they are personally determined the rest of the country shall accept for its own good.

As set forth in its articles of incorporation the purpose of the Institute for Government Research is as follows:

To conduct scientific investigation into the theory and practice of governmental administration, including inquiries into the forms of organization, the number and manner of operation of federal, state, and local governmental bodies and offices in the United States of America; the powers, duties, limitations, and qualifications of officers; the methods of administration employed; the character and cost of results obtained and the conditions affecting the ef-

iciency and welfare of governmental officers and employees; to carry on such inquiries directly or with the coöperation of governments, learned societies, institutions of learning or other agencies and individuals; to make public the results of its investigations; to maintain a library for the use of the Institute or its members and officers and those affiliated with its work; and to prosecute such other inquiries and perform such other services as may tend to the development and application of the principles of efficiency in governmental administration.

The plan of the work of the Institute has been first to collect the facts concerning the problem to be studied, next subject the data to analysis and upon this basis determine what improvements or recommendations in government or administration are advisable. The study made by the Institute of the financial administration of the national government led, after a thorough investigation and mature consideration, to the recommendation of seven fundamental improvements. In its publications the Institute has indicated in precise terms the changes advocated and has set forth the reasons therefore. The Institute is now able to report that it "has been successful in having these changes to a large extent adopted and put into practice."

With regard to the relationship of this private scientific institute to the government the following quotation is enlightening:

In many respects the most valuable work of the Institute has been and is being done in connection with committees, administrative officers and organizations concerned with problems of public administration. In addition to assisting in the drafting of such important legislation as the Budget and Accounting Act, 1921 and the Classification Act of 1923, members of the Institute's staff have been repeatedly requested to appear before Committees of Congress to testify in respect to proposed changes in their methods of procedure. Frequent requests have also been received from administrative officers to assist them in working out improved methods for handling their work. Especially has assistance been given to the Bureau of the Budget in preparing financial statements to accompany the annual budget and the General Accounting Office in devising and installing systems of accounting and reporting in the operating services of the National Government. In the field of the state administration, the Institute, at the request of the Governors of Hawaii and North Carolina, has given its assistance in the framing of modern budget and accounting systems for those governments.

Among special or unusual services rendered by the Institute mention may be made of the organization and general direction of the Bureau of Public Personnel Administration during the first four years of its existence and the conduct of the comprehensive survey of the whole problem of the administration of Indian Affairs now in progress.²⁶

Conclusion. The foregoing pages serve to indicate to some extent the manner and degree to which those engaged in the learned professions and in scientific and technical pursuits have seen fit to establish contacts with the national government. When occasions arise in which they may be of service with advice or with information they stand ready to proffer their aid. Many of them come forward only when they are invited to do so by governmental bureaus or by legislators themselves. In many cases it is seen that others are equally ready to volunteer their suggestions or even to agitate for some action on the part of the government. The National Education Association has certainly not been backward in making known its stand. It is undoubtedly the most militant association of its kind in the capital. It is on watch constantly. On the other hand, we find the American Medical Association sending an occasional representative to speak for the Association when it is deemed necessary. For example, their representative is seen before the Senate Judiciary Committee protesting the provisions of the Volstead and Willis-Campbell acts restricting the dosage of medicinal liquor that a physician may prescribe.²⁷ Or the dignified and not too stentorian voice of the American Historical Association is heard requesting that the government provide a Hall of Records. Or again, the dulcent and presumably melodious voice of the various associations of musicians is raised from time to time in advocacy of a National Conservatory of Music. Associations of this nature indicate a point of view; they are able to speak with a very considerable degree of authority in their particular field. With due allowance for the

²⁶ This and the other material descriptive of the Institute of Economics and the Institute for Government Research is taken from a brochure prepared by the Brookings Institution in 1927 for the information of the trustees and others who were "parties in interest."

²⁷ Senate Judiciary Committee, April, 1926, Hearings of the Subcommittee. Testimony of Dr. William C. Woodward.

slightly selfish bias which is inevitably present in all such associations, their testimony may in most cases be accepted on its face as reliable. To the extent that they are representative of an important and learned profession, they are highly significant and their words are given attention by Congress. And be it said that every effort is exerted to make them as reasonably representative as may be. In conjunction with these representative associations it is interesting to note the presence of organizations whose influence is dependent entirely upon the value of the advice they have to give. Their words must be weighted with wisdom rather than the strength of numbers. Many of the professional societies such as the American Bar Association may well boast of both. Such organizations serve to render complete the unofficial representation in Washington. Not only are all classes of the citizenry represented, but science likewise, both in its natural and in its humanistic aspects, has its spokesmen ready to aid government and public alike.²⁸

²⁸ Mention might be made here of a study of the organized efforts of various official and unofficial agencies that have been established in recent years "with a view to bringing about more efficient methods in the conduct of public business." It is thus seen that the interest of organized effort is not confined to legislation but also through various scientific bureaus extends to administration as well. See Gustavus A. Weber, *Organized Efforts for the Improvement of Methods of Administration in the United States* (1919), Institute for Government Research, Studies in Administration.

CHAPTER XI

ASSOCIATIONS OF ORGANIZED WOMEN

List of Women's Organizations. A large proportion of the women of this country are organized and represented in the national capital in much the same way as agriculture, industry, and labor. Their organizations in most cases are formed to consider the interest of women as such. Broadly speaking these associations take the viewpoint that the woman voters have certain interests which must be understood, discussed, and brought to the attention of the national government by the women acting through their organized agencies. There may be ample justification for this feeling on their part. The point to be emphasized here is that it does exist. In considering the organized groups in Washington representing the special welfare and point of view of a group, the women's organizations must be included.

The number of their associations is second only to the number of organizations representing the various industries of the United States—the trade associations already described. Their leagues and societies include many varieties, but in almost all the chief emphasis is upon the status and welfare of women, and, as a rule, of children also. Altogether there are about thirty of these organizations maintaining headquarters in the capital, and, as is usual, many others that send spokesmen when occasion arises. The following is a list of the national organizations that have representatives in Washington in order to keep in touch with federal legislation of interest to women:

American Association of University Women
American Federation of Teachers
American Home Economics Association
American Nurses' Association
Council of Women for Home Missions
General Federation of Women's Clubs
Girls' Friendly Society in America
Institute Fraternity, Medical Women of the American Institute
of Homeopathy

Medical Women's National Association
National Association of Colored Women
National Committee for a Department of Education
National Congress of Parents and Teachers
National Consumers' League
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Women
National Education Association
National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs
National League of Women Voters
National Women's Christian Temperance Union
National Women's Trade Union League
National Board of Young Women's Christian Association
Service Star Legion

In addition to the above, there are the following women's organizations :

National Woman's Party
League of American Pen Women
National Association of Deans of Women
National Red Cross Nurses
Policewomen's Association
Catholic Daughters of America
Daughters of the American Revolution
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Federated Farm Women of America

This gives a cross-section of the interests of women that are represented in Washington and of the organizations that represent them. It will be seen immediately that the women have organizations that might well be placed with equal categorial accuracy in other chapters of this work. For example, the Federated Farm Women of America might be placed in the discussion of agriculture's representation; or the National Women's Trade Union League with labor's representatives, or the Women's Christian Temperance Union in the chapter on the "drys." However, to group all the women's organizations in one classification enables one to appreciate the extent to which they have considered their interests as women sufficiently distinctive to warrant separate associations. A number of these organizations have been referred to in the previous chapter dealing with the representatives of professional groups, others will be referred to in succeeding chapters

as their membership or their purpose places them in other classifications. Collected here in this one list, they illustrate the many fields of national importance in which organized groups of women have seen fit to enter.

It is interesting to note that many of these organizations, although organized for very different purposes, have much in common. In this discussion of national associations one of the points that impresses the investigator is the degree to which these societies and leagues overlap, either in purpose or membership, and the many points of contact which make either for bitter antagonism or hearty coöperation. There are among the women's organizations many very divergent points of view. It is betraying no secret to state that the National League of Women Voters and the National Woman's Party mutually regard each other as quite benighted, while the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Women's League for Peace and Freedom each heartily distrusts the motives of the other organization.

Women's Joint Congressional Committee. Nevertheless, a considerable degree of coöperation is to be found among the women's associations. In fact, the first division of the list of organizations just given composes the membership of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee. Such combinations have been encountered in the case of the business men, the farmers, and the labor group. Their character was informal, and often a social aspect, such as a foregathering for luncheon, was noted. The women's committee at first glance appears to be a little more formal in character. It has a set of by-laws and elected officers, a definite membership, and regular meetings. It gives the impression of organization, though as a matter of fact, it actually does little as a committee. However, since it typifies the activities of a joint committee of independent organizations in its most systematic form and illustrates an interesting piece of machinery of the new lobby, a short description is pertinent here.

The object of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, as stated in Article 2 of its by-laws, is "to serve as a clearing house of organizations engaged in promoting in Congress legislation of especial interest to women." In order that an association be admitted to membership and permitted to participate, three requirements must be met. It requires of members that:

They shall be national in scope.

They shall have endorsed at least one federal legislative proposal to which they are giving active support.

They shall be organizations whose aims and major programs, legislative and general, are not in conflict with the aims and major programs of any other organization belonging to the Women's Joint Legislative Committee.¹

Each organization is expected to contribute ten dollars per year and is further entitled to send one voting delegate to the regular meetings, which are held monthly while Congress is in session.

The real significance of the Committee lies in the fact that it provides the machinery whereby national associations that find themselves taking the same standpoint on a legislative measure regarding women's interests may combine their influence and pool their resources to the attaining of a common aim. No member organization is pledged to any policy by joining the body, and the Committee itself, as a committee, does not endorse specific matters of legislation. It provides the ready medium through which the members may consult and coöperate. There is a staff of officers to manage its work and three standing committees. These are:

1. The Lookout Committee, that watches for and follows new measures of interest to women;
2. The Admissions Committee; and
3. The Publicity Committee, that is responsible for press and other publicity.

Aside from this administrative apparatus, which is of course useful, it is the member associations themselves that actually participate in watching and urging legislation.

When eight of the member organizations endorse a measure, a committee is formed, composed of representatives from each of the endorsing associations, officers are elected, and plans formulated. This group then proceeds to "carry out a campaign of action for the enactment of the measure by Congress." The mem-

¹ The data on the Women's Legislative Committee is from a leaflet distributed by that organization; an account may also be found in the *Congressional Digest*, July, 1922, p. 20.

bers of this sub-committee "endeavor to convey to congressmen the sentiment of constituents, reporting to the members of their organizations the attitude of their congressmen on specific legislation."² These endorsing members work thus through the Joint Committee, without involving the organizations or the committees which have not endorsed that particular bill.

The legislation watched by the associations connected with the Women's Joint Legislative Committee deals with matters such as: the enforcement of the Shepard-Towner Act; school attendance; vocational education; or the establishment of a federal department of education. Their attention is not confined to legislative questions. They may concern themselves with administration to the extent of advocating, for example, the transfer of the United States Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board to the Department of Justice; or they may agitate for what they consider a sufficient budget for the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor.³

In all of the activities this stands forth: that thousands of American women are organized and are represented by offices in the capital that forward the special interests of their members before the national government.

The Women's Joint Congressional Committee is cited because it reviews the number and variety of the associations of women in Washington, shows the degree of organization that has been developed, and the spirit of coöperation that exists in some cases.

Organized Women and Legislation. The various member organizations working separately and in furtherance of their particular purposes have wider interests than those concerning legislation. It is entirely accurate to assert that there is hardly a national women's society in the country that does not at one time or another in its career concern itself with some aspect of legislation. Most of them find it necessary to come to Washington frequently. The number of those maintaining permanent representatives in the capital has already been indicated. Most of them operate in the same general manner.

² Leaflet of Joint Committee.

³ *Congressional Digest*, *op. cit.*

They see that information is furnished in regard to obscure or misunderstood points of the question at issue. They consult with friends of a particular bill inside of Congress about legislative procedure, the arrangement for hearings, etc. They keep the members of their own organizations informed of the progress of the measures indorsed by the various organizations. They sit for weary hours in the gallery of House or Senate whenever these measures are likely to come up and thus they get first hand knowledge of the tactics of opponents and the support given by friends.⁴

They may be seen in action in one important phase of their work at the congressional committee hearings on some bill in which the women are particularly interested. The fight to establish a federal department of education⁵ is a good example. The representatives of most of the important woman's organizations appeared to testify and place before the congressmen the opinions of their membership. A few brief quotations from this testimony will serve to indicate the nature of typical associations and to illustrate the methods by which a consensus of opinion on a legislative matter is obtained.

American Association of University Women:

The American Association of University Women is a body of nineteen thousand college women, with a very wide geographic distribution. We are organized in two hundred and seventy branches, located all over the United States, the South, East, and West. . . .

We passed at our convention in July, 1923, the resolution to indorse a federal department of education with federal aid.⁶

General Federation of Women's Clubs:

A nation wide organization representing two million women. They have groups in every state in the Union. These club women are my constituents.

Thirty-four years ago, the General Federation was organized from a group, a very small group of clubs scattered all over the country, and now we have over twelve thousand clubs in the General Federation, with State organizations, county, district, and local organizations.

⁴ From editorial in *Women Citizen*, March, 1927, pp. 30-31, quoting Maud Wood Park, perhaps the chief representative of organized women in Washington.

⁵ Joint Committee Hearings on Education, 68 Cong. 1 sess.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 230.

The federation is a non-sectarian, non-political body, and we describe ourselves as a group of organized women in every community who may be depended upon to support all movements looking to the betterment of life. For five years we have supported legislation to create a federal department of education.⁷

Congress of Mothers and Parent Teachers Association :

Our national legislative chairman examines very carefully, together with the legislative chairman of the various state branches, measures that are either before Congress or are coming before Congress and then, in our annual convention, which is held in the Spring of each year, she delivers to the various committees the bills which she thinks should be endorsed.

A study is made of these bills usually in the local associations and in the various state branches. The state branches endorse certain bills which they approve, and the national organization endorses certain bills which they approve. . . . Last year we had over three hundred representatives in our convention from every state in the union.⁸

Illustrations might be multiplied ; but these will suffice as typical examples. It is evident that the organized women extend their influence widely over the nation and that they realize the power added unto them by ignoring the differences that often divide voters and by concentrating their forces on special measures affecting their interests.

The point of view of the organized woman is thus expounded by a clubwoman of national prominence : "

As an individual voter, she [the woman voter] knows that her protest will carry small weight with the police department or the board of education in her town. As a member of the Woman's Club, fifty voters strong, with perhaps a well-organized civic department, she knows her appeal carries weight because it *represents a bloc of ballots*.¹⁰

Translate this idea into terms of state government and state federation, and it means juvenile protection, better management

⁷ *Ibid.*, 216.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 217.

⁹ From the first message of Mrs. Sherman to the Federated Club Women of the United States, as printed in the *Woman's Home Companion*, September, 1924, LI, 16. Quoted by Mrs. Madden Martin in *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1925, CXXXV, 368.

¹⁰ Italics are mine.

of state institutions. . . . From a federation of fifty women, you now deal with an affiliation of several thousand.

Move on from state to Federal government, and what can be done?

The Shepard-Towner Act is the best answer to that question. Congressmen who wanted to defeat it, hesitated before the demands of two million federated club women. And the General Federation, coöperating with other organizations of women, has determinedly stood behind the Child Labor Amendment.

The organized women know what they want, they have able leaders to suggest new measures and represent them before the government. They are convinced that a great many of the disabilities of women may be obviated by federal legislation and they have concentrated their attention on Congress to the attainment of that end. They admit that they work through the lobby, but they assert that they have "made lobbying respectable."¹¹ They have "let in the light." They visit the congressmen and try to convert them to the point of view of their organization. They make the legislators like it.

In the old days it would have been the direst insult to say on the floor of the House or Senate that a man was voting as he had been asked to vote. Now senators and representatives rather pride themselves on having it known that they are voting in the way the women want them to vote.

The women's lobby is a "front-door" lobby. It works in the open and is effective by reason of the millions of women behind it. Seventeen¹² national organizations of women have representatives who work for legislation of interest to women generally regardless of political affiliation. They make no secret of it, for publicity is one of their three tremendous assets. The millions of voters behind them and the inherent common sense of the bills they push are the other two.¹³

It has been the purpose of this chapter thus far to indicate something of the extent to which women are organized and the agencies through which they are represented in the capital. It is

¹¹ Madden Martin, *American woman and representative government*, *op. cit.*, 364, quoting Mrs. Maude Park Wood, then President of the National League of Women Voters.

¹² This statement was made in 1925. The number has since increased.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 13.

evident they are among the most important of these groups that seek to supplement the representative system of our government.

As has been pointed out, many of these women's organizations parallel in their purpose and in their activities general associations functioning in the same field. Many others serve to speak for women as writers or nurses or police women, etc. However, among the most important organizations in Washington are two that represent women generally as citizens and as voters. The distinguishing characteristics of these two is the fact that they are interested in government and politics chiefly. The other groups of women are interested only incidentally, although at intervals they may be very much concerned. The National League of Women Voters and the National Woman's Party are the two organizations which have as their primary object an interest in legislation and in government. They are the associations avowedly organized to interest the woman voter in political matters. They speak for the woman as a citizen. As such they are unique and, therefore, of especial interest to this discussion of national associations.

These two organizations have different purposes, they represent different points of view, they use different methods of attack. Yet they both came from the same source; they both sprung from the suffrage movement. In the suffrage agitation, which was at its height about a decade ago, is to be found much that explains the attitude of the women's organizations in the capital to-day.

The Background of the Present Situation. It will be recalled that the battle to remove sex as a qualification for voting was waged by two forces of organized women; the National American Woman's Suffrage Association¹⁴ and the Congressional Union.¹⁵ Both groups set up headquarters in Washington and both fought for the suffrage amendment as their wisdom dictated. Between the two, members of Congress were left little peace, and the newspapers were supplied with abundance of "good copy." The suffrage fight served to develop the methods of the lobbyist of the

¹⁴ Ida Husted Harper, *History of woman suffrage*, in six volumes. See especially V, 618-55, "The Federal amendment for woman suffrage."

¹⁵ Doris Stevens, "Jailed for freedom," gives a picturesque account of the activities of the militants.

present day and to impress upon the women and upon the public generally the efficacy of organized agitation. Of course, previous to this time, efforts had been made by labor to rouse the working-class vote, and agricultural organizations had at times tried to marshal the farmers, but there was nothing to compare with the systematic campaign of the women directed from the Washington headquarters and extending over a wide number of states. When the women finally found the victory was theirs, they felt that their methods were vindicated. In large measure they blazed the way for the lobbying organizations in the capital at the present time. The suffrage fight began in the capital at the time when the movement of national associations upon Washington was just getting under way. The work of the women at this time and the success of their campaign has undoubtedly had an effect upon the many other groups.

In both camps of the suffrage forces, the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment was hailed as irrefutable proof of the success of the methods used. The organized women, conservatives and militants alike, realized that they had perfected a new instrument for attaining their ends. They won their campaign through publicity which aroused public sentiment, and through appeals that pledged blocs of voters to their cause. Now with the votes of the newly enfranchised, fresh power was added unto them.

The winning of the suffrage did not spell the decline of the active interest of women in congressional legislation. It rather marked the beginning of a movement which is increasing in strength of numbers and perfection of system year by year. Of the two organizations which took the leading parts in the battle for the Nineteenth Amendment, each has its direct successor busily at work in Washington to-day. The militant Congressional Union has become the National Woman's Party; the conservative forces of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association have become the National League of Women Voters.

The National Woman's Party.³⁶ Of the organized women in Washington, the National Woman's Party is the group which exhibits most clearly the connection of present-day associations of

³⁶ Data on the National Woman's Party may be found in its magazine, "Equal Rights," in its literature, particularly the descriptive pamphlet: "The National Woman's Party, 1913-1926."

women with the suffrage movement. The suffragettes focused their attention on one object,—the passing of a constitutional amendment granting them the vote. The National Woman's Party has one aim in its relations with the national government. It desires a further amendment to the Constitution whereby complete equality under the law will be secured by women. This is but part of its broader campaign to secure equal rights for women. In the declaration of principles of the party it is asserted that:

Women to-day, although enfranchised, are still in every way subordinate to men before the law, in government, in educational opportunities, in the professions, in the church, in industry, and in the home.

Women, it is stated, are the governed half of society, and the National Woman's Party has dedicated its energies to changing this situation. After the winning of suffrage, its forces were re-organized in 1921, permanent headquarters set up in Washington directly opposite the Capitol, and the campaign begun for equal rights.

The first move in this effort was to establish a Department of Legal Research to inquire into and study all the state laws discriminatory against women. A corps of women worked at this task for several years. The results of this investigation have now been compiled, and attempts are being made in the different states to repeal those laws shown to place women on a different plane from men. This campaign is directed from the central office, and a skilled advisory counsel is retained to aid in the drawing up of state bills and to assist the state bodies in their work. The headquarters at Washington acts as the clearing house for the state activities furnishing guidance and advice.

The chief work of the National Woman's Party, however, is in Washington. Its main interest at the present time is in forwarding the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution. It seeks to focus upon this matter "the various forces working for the different items on the Equal Rights program, such as jury service, equal property rights, equal pay and equal opportunities." In this one amendment are combined all the points of this program, and the Woman's Party see in its enactment the accomplishment of all their purposes. The amendment reads as follows:

Men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction.

This was introduced upon the opening of Congress in 1923 by Senator Curtis and by Representative Anthony, nephew of Susan B. Anthony, the great pioneer of "Equal Rights." Since that time the women have been urging favorable action on the part of the national government. A large delegation called upon the late President Harding and three groups of women have called upon President Coolidge to enlist the support of the Administration for their measure. It has been to Congress, however, that most attention has been directed. The women thus described their activities in this connection:

There has been an uninterrupted series of delegations visiting the congressional leaders, committee members and members of Congress in general, to urge the immediate passage of the Amendment. Hardly a day has passed since the Amendment was first placed before Congress in which there has not been a group of Woman's Party members in the halls of Congress working for the measure.

Hearings on the Equal Rights Amendment have been held before committees of both Houses of Congress, to which women from all parts of the country came to speak in support of the measure, and hearings have also been held on the minor points covered by the amendment, such as equalizing citizenship rights of married men and women, giving jury service to the women of the District of Columbia; giving equal contract rights to married women of the District of Columbia, and the equal application as to men and women of pension laws. Through these hearings not only has the attention of Congress been concentrated upon the Equal Rights question, but the attention of the whole country has been called to this unsettled problem still confronting Congress."

The stimulating of public interest in the equal rights movement is considered as important a part of the work of the national headquarters as the effort to convince congressmen.¹³ "Education" to formulate favorable public opinion is considered essential, and to this end the facilities that Washington offers as a publicity center are utilized to the full. The usual methods of preparing

¹³ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁴ The Party has compiled laws affecting women in almost all the states of this country.

releases for the press and publishing a certain amount of propaganda are followed. In addition to these routine tactics the National Woman's Party has other and more effective schemes. It does not merely send releases to the Washington correspondents. It "makes news" which the papers take eagerly.

For example, instead of attempting to have its purposes printed by sending a statement to a large number of papers, it sends a delegation of prominent feminists to see the President in the Black Hills of Dakota. This makes a legitimate news item, and the papers all over the country record the fact next day and report the statements and activities of the visitors. Incidentally, the purpose of the National Woman's Party is explained. Wide publicity is given by the papers; it is not necessary to solicit space. This is the most skillful type of propaganda. The newspapers are always ready to report events where they hesitate to chronicle doctrines. As part of this campaign to arouse popular interest, four great pageants have been given by the Woman's Party in different parts of the country, throngs of people have been attracted, and newspapers have freely written of the Party, thus spreading knowledge of the movement among thousands of readers. The National Woman's Party has replaced the literature of the suffrage campaign with the story of the equal rights movement and distributed their pamphlets widely. The "Equal Rights" magazine—the official organ of the party—carries the message to thousands more.

Concerning the campaign of the National Woman's Party for the Equal Rights amendment, it is only fair to call attention to the fact that this party is well-nigh the sole champion of this measure. There are many other influential organizations that believe equal rights may be better secured through state action.¹⁹ However, the Woman's Party believes that this cause, just as the woman suffrage cause, may best be furthered by national action. The idea of the party is to unite an active body of zealous workers solidly behind this program. It is not the policy of the organization to recruit large numbers. It still bears the imprint of the militant

¹⁹ "Equal Rights, how not to get them," issued by the Committee on the Legal Status of Women, National League of Women Voters.

See Hearings on this amendment before the House Judiciary Committee, February 4 and 5, 1925.

suffrage days, when the zeal of a few seemed to carry such force. To-day the officers are chiefly concerned in building up a public understanding of the equal rights movement before attempting an aggressive campaign upon Congress. The results of such efforts are intangible at best, and it is impossible to estimate the degree to which the Party has been successful. It employs the usual methods common to the other lobbies in the capital. It carries its planks to the conventions of the political parties. It keeps a watch on congressmen through their card index. It brings pressure to bear by directing the local bodies in all states to get in touch with their congressmen at home. And for the rest, it strives to "break into the headlines" as often as possible. At present it tells of no planned assault on Congress to force through the amendment.

National League of Women Voters. The National League of Women Voters was organized in 1920, its first national congress being held at the last meeting of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.²⁰ The struggle for the vote was over, and the problem of making the best use of this privilege confronted the enfranchised women. Accordingly, the League was established not merely to enable women to improve their status before the law and to further those social interests in which women have been particularly concerned, but rather to make the women voters better able to meet the new and unfamiliar obligations of citizenship.²¹ To educate women to meet these obligations fully and intelligently, is the first object of the League.

It is interesting to call attention to these organizations of women in politics that both alike arose from the suffrage days, and to contrast the different paths they follow: on the one hand the National Woman's Party, a limited body of zealous feminists, working for what they believe will most quickly and effectively aid the legal and political status of women; and on the other, the National League of Women Voters, endeavoring to educate great numbers

²⁰ Proceedings of the Second Annual Convention of the National League of Women Voters, 1921, p. 3.

²¹ Suggested reference, "New schools for older students," by Nathaniel Peffer, a report made in 1926 to the Carnegie Corporation, also "Adult education in a community," a survey of the Buffalo Educational Council, published by the American Association for Adult Education, 1926.

of women to use the rights they already have, and upon this basis to work for other legislation to their interests.

The National League of Women Voters functions primarily as an educational agency; an education in the use of the vote and in the current problems confronting the legislatures of the state and nation. To-day this League is in vigorous operation. It has built up an organization that extends into forty-five states and three-fourths of the congressional districts in this country.²² It has worked through this structure "to make effective for better government the votes of twenty million newly enfranchised women."

It believes that its members should study public questions, not as good citizens only, but *as women citizens*; that there are matters for which women are peculiarly responsible, and that organization of women is necessary in order to give these matters the emphasis in government which their importance deserves.

This does not imply that women voters are expected to operate only through the League. On the contrary, they are urged also to act through political parties. The League, however, gives women a common meeting ground, removed from party bias or organization precedent—an agency through which they can act with other women voters in the interests of those measures for which they see the need most clearly."²³

At best it is a difficult matter to overcome the indifference of the average voter, and the novelty of the newly acquired ballot is not a sufficient inducement to keep the women voters interested over a period of years. The National League of Women Voters find the explanation of its vitality to-day in the methods which it has adopted, that relate the interest of the woman citizen to her government.

It is considered essential to the success of this organization that it take an active part in governmental matters. If the women are to be educated in the use of the ballot, their interest in their government must be aroused. They must be made to feel that they, as women, have special interests and a particular point of view that differentiate them from the rest of the citizenry and makes their participation in government necessary.

²² "The first six years of the National League of Women Voters." Leaflet.

²³ "History, principles and policy of the National League of Women Voters." Leaflet.

It is to sharpen the challenge of the vote, to vivify the educational process of study and discussion, quite as much as to achieve the success of particular measures, that the League supports a legislative program."²⁴

Most of the work of the League is done through the state units. In fact, the organization is founded on the principle of local autonomy. The state leagues, of which there are forty-five, are regarded as the pivotal centers, and the membership is served through a large number of state and even city and county headquarters, many of which maintain a permanent staff and publish their own bulletins.²⁵ These local units in many cases are quite strong and self-sufficient. It is important to indicate this local strength of the League although the phase of the association that concerns this discussion is the Washington office that represents the membership before the federal government. However, to appreciate the significance of the national headquarters, it is essential to realize the strength of the constituent parts.

Its Departments. The national organization is divided into four departments, dealing respectively with efficiency in government, public welfare in government, the legal status of women, and international coöperation for the prevention of war. Each department studies the various problems falling within its prescribed field and, in consultation with the corresponding departments in the states, frames a tentative program which is sent to the state groups of the League for the general consideration and study by the state and local leagues. A three-month period is allowed for those units to form an opinion of the recommendations. They then make a report to the national departments that sent them the proposals for study. A general consensus of opinion is thus formed on these tentative propositions and a definite program drawn up for presentation at the annual meeting. The final program, in its completed form, is then discussed and adopted by the delegates at the national convention.²⁶

²⁴ Gladys Harrison, *Participating in government*, June 15, 1927, LVIII, 317. Miss Harrison is Executive Secretary of the League.

²⁵ Nathaniel Pepper, *National League of Women Voters*, p. 1.

²⁶ *Program of work, 1927-1928.*

The officers of the League believe that the strength of the organization lies to a great degree in the representative procedure used to frame the program and, likewise, in the fact that ample time is allowed for full consideration of measures on the part of the local units before any action is expected. There is a study program as well as an active program.

Of its active program of national legislation, more than two-thirds of the measures supported by the League have been favorably acted upon by Congress. For action on the part of the national government the following items are proposed by the various departments of the League for 1927-1928:²⁷

Department of Efficiency in Government:

1. Federal suffrage in the District of Columbia
2. Opposition to proposals to make the amending of the Constitution of the United States more difficult than at present
3. Upholding the merit system in the civil service

Department of Public Welfare in Government:

1. Child labor legislation after ratification of the amendment by the states
2. Adequate support of the Children's Bureau, Department of Labor
3. Federal department of education
4. Development of Muscle Shoals as a national asset
5. Adequate appropriation for a federal employment service

Committee on Legal Status of Women:

1. Takes a contrary position to that held by the National Woman's Party; advocates the specific correction of state laws

Department of International Coöperation to Prevent War:

1. Entry of United States into Permanent Court of International Justice
2. Participation of United States in international conferences for the reduction of armaments
3. Settlement of International Disputes by arbitration

In both the national program of the League and in the state programs also, the members are interested in legislation that is of especial concern to them as women.

²⁷ "First six years." Leaflet.

It is concerned with homely matters which women instinctively understand as elements of security, such as the protection of maternity, and infancy, school attendance laws, the prevention of child labor, the limitation of the hours of working women in industrial occupations, the enforcement of laws relating to sex offenses without discrimination between the sexes, the prevention of unfair trade practices, and the service of women on juries.²⁸

There is, however, another side to the program of this organization. As is shown in the proposals for 1927-1928, the League takes up a number of questions that concern the women as citizens and voters. A study is made of many matters which are entirely outside of what are known traditionally as "woman's interests." For instance, the Efficiency in Government Department, one of the strongest of all the departments of the League, deals with such matters as election laws, taxation, federal aid, forms of city government, the merit system in the civil service, and budget systems.²⁹ A summary of the legislation supported by the state leagues shows a considerable number of bills concerned with election procedure and administrative organization. Similarly, in the citizenship schools conducted by the local branches of the League, the study of technical questions of government has an important place.

The Lobby and the League. When the Washington Office speaks as the representative of the women of its organization, it gives the considered opinion of citizens who have studied the questions at issue. Moreover, many of the items on the program deal with general governmental problems, as distinguished from the special welfare of women. Accordingly, the lobby of the League at the capital possesses particular influence in so far as it presents the deliberated sentiment and disinterested opinion of a large and highly organized body of women voters.³⁰ As a matter of fact,

²⁸ "The way of the League," address of the President, Miss Belle Sherwin, to the Seventh Annual Convention, National League of Women Voters, April, 1926, p. 1-2.

²⁹ From memorandum supplied by the Executive Secretary.

³⁰ Upon this point much indeed could be written, and in a sense it is the most essential concerning all these national associations. There has been considerable criticism of women's organizations as not being truly representative of the thought, or lack of thought, of the rank and file of the members. This view is well summed up in the following excerpt from the

a high percentage of the measures advocated by the League have been passed by Congress. Whether this is due to the intrinsic merit of the measures or to their support by the League, working alone or with organizations, is a question that cannot be answered. The League holds the credit for success comparatively unimportant so long as the measure is passed.

As to the lobby itself, the point of view of the League and of most of the other important lobbies is thus summed up by Mrs. Maud Wood Park, herself perhaps the best-known woman lobbyist at the capital:³¹

From time to time the so-called women's lobby, as well as the measures which it advocates, has been attacked in speeches or in the press on the ground that members of legislative bodies should be left to form their own judgment on bills before them without expressions of opinion from individuals or organizations and that such work as the women do tends to interfere with that freedom. To such charges I have always replied that there is no legitimate ground for objection against any lobby which is courteous in its methods and frank in the avowal of its purposes and which makes no attempt to conceal the names of its workers or the methods that they employ.

Baltimore Evening Sun, June 7, 1928, on the General Federation of Women's Clubs. It is expressive of an interesting aspect of the situation:

"It can't be said that the club-women, as a national federation, have shown any particular genius or made any striking contribution to the progress of the country up to the present time. It was Mrs. George Madden Martin, if we mistake not, who told the real facts about many of the causes to which their leaders have committed them. The meetings of women's clubs are, in the very nature of things, social gatherings. There is more stimulation in exchanging ideas with one's neighbors in the adjoining seat than in listening to dreary "papers" and reports by the committee on resolutions. The consequence is, said Mrs. Martin, that many if not most of the women vote for resolutions and indorse movements of whose real nature they have little knowledge and of whose implication they are totally ignorant.

"The control of the average club thus tends to slip into the hands of the political-minded among its members, women ambitious for recognition by the national officers or merely hypnotized by the delights of "organization" and the intricacies of parliamentary law. Under such circumstances, it becomes possible for a small group at the national headquarters to dictate the policy and attitude of the whole organization and to pretend, with a show of reason, to speak for the 'organized women of the country.'

"By some such means as this, we imagine, the General Federation of Women's Clubs has been lined up behind some of the most dubious public movements of the last decade."

³¹ "Record of four years, 1920-1924," a report issued by the League, p. 18.

Certainly if recent events in Washington are to teach us anything, they should illustrate for our benefit the kind of lobby that is to be feared, the lobby that works underground through persons who try to keep out of sight, for ends that are never openly acknowledged. Persons may differ as to the wisdom of the objects sought by an open lobby, but no one is justified in questioning its right to exist so long as it has nothing to conceal, and women in particular have every reason to be proud of the title which a half-humorous, half-kindly newspaper article thrust upon them when it said that they were so much in evidence that they ought to be called "the front door lobby."

It is, then, through the "front door lobby" that the women are represented before the national government. In many cases their organizations parallel general organizations established in the same field, in some cases their societies are engaged in various causes yet to be considered in this book, in some cases their associations are particularly concerned with the women voter and the government; but whatever the purpose or the membership, the interests of the women are represented before the national government through special agencies at Washington. The contacts with government may be all important or they may merely be incidental to the main purpose of the organization. In any case, the spokesmen of organized women stand ready to voice the opinions of the feminine portion of the citizenry, if occasion demands.

CHAPTER XII

FORCES OF ORGANIZED REFORM

Organizations Working for a Cause. In addition to the organizations representing certain economic or vocational groups of citizens, there are to be found many associations that may be generally designated as having their *raison d'être* in some cause, some one idea, or some objective to be guarded or attained. These are the organizations that concern themselves with the affairs of the "other fellow" or with the welfare of the country as a whole, rather than with the self-interest of a particular class. Their value to the nation and the justice of their cause is a matter that the reader is to determine according to his individual beliefs. Some of the more important ones are treated in this and the succeeding chapter. The number and variety of associations of this nature existing in the country is legion. Very often they are transitory and flourish during the agitation of a particular issue, only to die out when the crisis is past. Those selected for discussion here are among the more permanent and substantial of the organizations of this general nature in the capital to-day. Their presence serves to illustrate that the supplemental system of representation in this country is not just a congress of economic classes but a democratic evolution in which ideas, doctrines, and even creeds have their spokesmen who often equal and sometimes exceed in power the agents of vocations and industries. As examples of this situation, the Washington representatives of the churches and the Prohibition issue have been selected for joint discussion in this chapter because they typify the most influential of these associations predicated on a "cause."

The "Drys" at the Capital. Of course, the most prominent and powerful agent of the "drys" is the Anti-Saloon League. So much has appeared in the press concerning its general and special

activities that there seems little to add.¹ It is the perfect type of organized group, operating at maximum efficiency with centralized authority, a full treasury, and a system of getting in contact with its supporters that extends all over the country. The League exercises its influence through the evangelical churches, the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian bodies being especially coöperative, admitting Anti-Saloon speakers to their pulpits at least once a year and likewise permitting the soliciting of financial contributions from the congregations. Moreover, a majority of the officers of the League are clergymen and they form an important bond between the organized "drys" and the churches.² It is largely through this contact with the churches that the League is able to reach back to the various congressional districts and marshal public opinion behind the particular measure that the organization is advocating.³ The League merely made use of an organization already containing many people sympathetic to the cause of the prohibition of alcoholics. On this structure of the churches it reared the system that has been so effective in guiding opinion and furthering legislation. But the League has done much more than merely utilize an existent structure. It sends speakers over the country, it makes use of every known means of publicity, and it issues literally tons of publicity. One of the officers of the League estimated that the "literature" issued up to January 1, 1925, if the pages were placed end to end, "would make a ribbon of temperance reading matter which could be wrapped around the world forty times." Printed matter is sent in enormous quantities into any congressional district in which there is an election to be contested between a "wet" and a "dry."³ It is the aim of the League to fill all governmental positions "from the village dog-catcher to the Presidency of the United States" with men who are avowedly of

¹ Newspaper accounts of the activities and organization of the Anti-Saloon League are to be found among others in: *Chicago Tribune*, July 11, 12, 1927; *St. Louis Post Despatch*, March 27, 28, 29, 1927; and the Hearst papers during July, 1927.

² For a complete and careful study of the Anti-Saloon League and its activities, see "Pressure Politics," by Peter Odegard, Columbia University Press (1928). With this excellent account available it would be mere redundancy to attempt a further description of the League in this study.

³ The Proceedings of the convention meetings and the Year Book of the Anti-Saloon League are suggested as sources.

"dry" sentiment. Accordingly, the League lends its active aid wherever there is an opportunity of electing an Anti-Saloon candidate. Their efforts have been notoriously successful, the prospective congressman having everything to gain and little to lose in many districts by declaring himself favorably inclined to the League program. The "wet" forces can offer no countervailing influence in so systematic or highly organized a form.

The other important forces having offices or headquarters in Washington to watch the problems arising in connection with Prohibition are the following:

The National Temperance Bureau is the Washington agency for a number of prohibition organizations. It is managed by Edwin C. Dinwiddie, who has been connected with the "dry" forces in the capital for many years.

The National Women's Christian Temperance Union maintains legislative headquarters in the capital under the management of Mrs. Lenna Lowe Yost, a very prominent lobbyist.

The Intercollegiate Prohibition Association has headquarters in Washington. This organization is a part of the World League against Alcoholism and confines its activities to work in the colleges.

The International Reform Federation, consolidating the International Reform Bureau, The Prohibition Foundation and the American Branch of the World Prohibition Federation, has offices two blocks from the Capitol.

The Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church is very active.

In addition to these organizations which maintain permanent offices at the capital, there are the conferences and committees of a more or less transient nature that function from time to time. For example, the National Temperance Council, composed of nationally prominent supporters of Prohibition, meets in Washington in September. Some of the delegates come as the representatives of dry organizations which exist largely on paper, others come as individual citizens. Such a conference serves as one of the means whereby the "dry" sentiment of the citizenry is made articulate. Similarly, the important prohibition associations in Washington meet informally to exchange opinions and discuss policies and report back to their respective organizations. Through the National

Legislative Conference the five chief "dry" associations try to settle upon a common basis for action before Congress convenes. As a spokesman for the other side of the question, is to be found the Association against the Prohibition Amendment.⁴ This society is attempting to fight the "drys" with their own weapons. It is opposing organized "dry" sentiment with organized "wet" sentiment. It lets loose upon the public a deluge of anti-prohibition literature to counteract the flood of publicity issued by the "drys."

From either side of the question statistics, graphs, charts, tabulations, essays, lectures, articles, pamphlets, and bulky books may be obtained which prove conclusively that the organization issuing this propaganda has all the facts in its favor. It can thus be proved that since the advent of Prohibition, crime, penitentiary commitments, arrests, drunkenness, wealth, health, or general decency have been on the decline or on the ascent. It merely depends upon which organization provides the information. Both "wets" and "drys" use all the mediums of propaganda available to them. Both go into politics and fight for their candidates. Both work with friendly congressmen and senators. Both maintain active lobbies. They combine in their operations all the methods of the organized groups discussed up to this point. Like the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, they find the referenda system useful; like the trade associations, they collect extensive and elaborate data which they present to congressional committees; like the farmers, they work when possible through a "bloc" of voters in the House or Senate; like organized labor, they go into the primaries and elections to see that their friends are sent to Congress.

In one important respect the "drys" have the advantage of the "wets." They can work with and through certain of the churches. While some of the churches are opposed to Prohibition, still they do not lend the organized "wets" the hearty support that the "dry" churches give the prohibition associations. Much of the strength of the prohibition forces lies in their sympathetic relations with certain of the evangelical churches. This connection has been referred to in the case of the Anti-Saloon League. An outstanding example of the interest of an important church body in prohibition

⁴ Cong. Record, February 26, 1926, p. 4671. Program and plans of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment.

and politics is to be found among the modern lobbies at work in Washington. In fact, one reason for grouping the prohibition forces and the churches together in one chapter is the fact that the two work together in many instances through their Washington offices.

Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals. One of the most interesting of the agencies interested in dry-law enforcement combines in itself the force of a powerful church and the activities and methods of the modern lobby and propagandist agency. This is the Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church.⁵ As an example of the organized group working systematically for a cause, and establishing in this interest close relations with the national government and creating public sentiment in support of its measures, it would be difficult indeed to find a better example than the Board of Temperance. It has erected an imposing building just across the street from the Senate side of the Capitol, and its interest in what Congress does is just as close as its physical proximity indicates.

The Board was started in 1904 by order of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1916 it was given its present title, and it was in 1924 that the present spacious building in Washington was occupied. It is only within comparatively recent years, then, that the Board has taken an active part in the work of supplemental representation that is carried on by the hundreds of national associations in the national capital.

The General Conference defines the purpose of the Board of Temperance to be

to make more effective the efforts of the Church to create a Christian public sentiment, which will relate the experiences of the Gospel of Christ to the economic, political, industrial, and social realities of life and which will crystallize opposition to all public violations of the moral law and to all attempts to undermine and destroy civil and religious liberties.

⁵ "Are the Methodists seeking temporal power?" *Literary Digest*, November 13, 1926, pp. 33-34. For debate on this subject, see *Forum*: November, 1926, LXXVI, 668-81, C. T. Wilson, "Methodist rights in politics," and "Give the Devil his due," reply to C. T. Wilson.

In this work upon public opinion the Board issues a weekly paper, "The Clipsheet," which is sent to thousands of papers and influential citizens all over the country. This sheet the Board claims to be the progenitor of the hundreds of similar releases sent by other propaganda agencies. As to the success of this paper the Board reports:

One clipping agency has sent us in the past six months more than four thousand clippings of our matter which has been re-printed or commented upon in the nation's daily press. It represents more than forty thousand inches of educational publicity. This report of one agency, covers only a portion of the daily press, but these clippings will fill an ordinary newspaper for forty-six days and at advertising rates would cost more than \$100,000.⁶

In addition to this the Board publishes "The Voice," a monthly magazine, and prepares a vast amount of miscellaneous "literature." This publicity work is left almost entirely to the discretion of the office force in Washington, the Board of Managers meeting annually and the Executive Committee holding quarterly meetings. Accordingly, it is up to the secretaries "to interpret as intelligently and faithfully as possible Christian thought on public morals and to inform Methodist people concerning public matters involving morals." This throws a great responsibility on the secretaries and at the same time places in their hands a great amount of power. The pronouncements of a few men in a central office are thus able to direct the thought and actions of a large church body. Very often their opinions are taken as indicative of the official sentiment of the Methodist Church.⁷ An attempt is made to counteract this tendency by printing at the head of the releases mentioned this phrase: "Unless reported as formal Board action, expressions of opinion are by the Secretaries."

The Board of Temperance regards activities relating to the formation of public opinion its most important function. It is realized that any national association is strong chiefly to the extent to which it rallies public sentiment to its support. Direct relations with government are secondary. The Research Secretary writes:

⁶ *The Voice*, January, 1924.

⁷ The above data on the Board of Temperance is taken from a description of this organization supplied by the Secretary and contained in the *Clipsheet* of March 28, 1927.

When hearings on questions of direct interest to our Board are held before Congress, we frequently appear and testify. This kind of work, however, is a very small part of our efforts, which are mainly engaged in research and the acquainting of the young people of our church with information discovered.*

The Board and Congress. Although the Research Secretary may belittle the activities of the Board before the government in this letter, an examination of the work of the Board in its relation to Congress as described by the Board itself in other publications, reveals clearly that this organization of the church people keeps as close a contact with congressmen as any of the avowedly lobbying groups.

By way of illustration, the following account written by the Research Secretary throws some light upon the relations with official Washington:

The duties of the Research department have brought it into constant contact with all the Departments, with Congress and with the White House. We are happy to say that our welcome at every point of contact has been cordial. While, of course, we are interested in legislation, we try to avoid presenting any requests to Congressmen or to heads of Departments, seeking rather to come offering assistance than asking favors. The so-called lobbying by the Board has been an insignificant part in its work, but by chance perhaps the Board has so frequently seen measures it has favored attain success that some people have imagined it is constantly haunting the halls of Congress.⁹

It is evident that the word "lobbying" is used above in the sense of "button-holing" congressmen and trying to influence them by personal argument. The Board is too intelligent an organization to be guilty of such out-worn methods. Moreover, along with the other powerful new lobbies in the capital it, of course, does not have to "haunt the halls of Congress." It has been the object of this book to show how such methods have been discarded. The Board, however, prides itself on possessing in a very excellent

* Letter to the author from Mr. Deets Pickets, October 11, 1927. This designation, "research secretary," is another of the euphonisms used to describe the present-day lobbyist. It is a variation of the title "legislative agent."

⁹ *The Voice*, January, 1924, p. 4.

form one of the most powerful instruments of the modern lobby; namely, the "card index." The Board of Temperance describes this as follows:

Our file of Congressional information is very comprehensive. We can tell you as to nearly any member of Congress, whether he is wet or dry, what his church affiliation is and in some cases his personal prejudices and fraternal affiliations.¹⁹

We simply wish to have on record every fact that will aid us in understanding him and his probable actions in every contingency.

Our method of classification and record have been copied by some of oldest and most important organizations in the country and are acknowledged to be unsurpassed.

At times such knowledge on the part of an organized group may gain them a vote that they would be unable to muster without this intimate knowledge concerning the members of Congress. For example, it is said of Wayne Wheeler that he was so well acquainted with the congressmen that he could tell in advance just how each individual would vote on a measure involving the wet and dry issue.²⁰

The Card Index. A striking illustration of the way in which an organized group can use the card index to advantage was given by the National Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals when the fight was on to procure the enactment of a law creating a Bureau of Prohibition with a Commissioner at the head possessing statutory powers to administer the law. This was a law that meant a great deal to the "dry" organizations and they were working militantly to have it passed. The measure was on the regular administrative program, but the party leaders were not pressing it harder than the other items on the same list. It might be interjected that the fact that this bill was on the party program is in itself a tribute to the influence of the dry forces. The short session of Congress was drawing to a close, however, and it looked as though the measure might not be considered in time by the Senate. Something drastic had to be done to bring the matter to the immediate attention of the Senate.

¹⁹ Interview with the present head of the Anti-Saloon League, in the *Baltimore Sun*, September 25, 1927.

General Andrews suggested to the Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals, the Anti-Saloon League and the W. C. T. U. and to the leaders of the other dry organizations represented in Washington that progress in his work was hopeless unless and until the dry organizations threw down the gage of battle and demanded that the Senate consider the interests of the country in regard to this matter. This coincided with the opinion of those consulted.

Immediately the dry leaders began to organize for a determined effort, with a special emphasis upon a new demonstration of the interest of the people in this question. It was decided to center all attention on the dry Reorganization Bill. The dry Senators were interviewed and found not only willing but anxious to do their full duty. Telegrams began to pour in from "back home" and gradually an overwhelming sentiment was built up which soon reduced to its proper proportions the fuss and feathers of the current wet propaganda.¹¹

Meanwhile the "wets" had taken counsel together and come to the conclusion that the only course left open to them was to filibuster and prevent consideration of the bill. The "drys," however, immediately countered by offering the bill with a cloture petition. According to the rules of the Senate¹² a calendar day must elapse between the offering of a cloture petition and the actual vote upon it. It requires a two-thirds majority to pass such a cloture rule.

In the twenty-four hour interim the "dry" senators met, went over the list of those of avowedly "dry" convictions, and discovered to their dismay that there were some good "drys" that were conscientiously opposed to cloture. In order to put the bill over it would be necessary to win some "wet" to vote for the cloture petition if the "dry" bill was to get before the Senate. The situation hardly promised success. At this juncture the Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals, according to its account, came to the rescue. Its lobbyist had been going carefully over the list of senators, trying to find some solution to the riddle. Finally his eyes fell on the name of Senator Copeland. He thought "here is a Methodist, a man whose instincts must be dry, even if his political position is wet."

¹¹ This account is from *The Voice* of March, 1927.

¹² Frederic A. Ogg and P. Orman Ray, Introduction to American government, 375.

The "Voice" then goes on to state how the Senator's record was looked up in the card index, an interview arranged, and a promise obtained from the wet Senator, who was a Methodist, that he would support this dry measure which the Methodist organization was sponsoring. His single vote turned the tide, the cloture rule was passed by a fifty-five to twenty-seven majority, and the enactment of the dry legislation automatically followed. Here a resourceful lobbyist of the new school by a thorough knowledge of the facts concerning a congressman snatched victory from defeat for the organized group of voters for which he was working. It illustrates the advantage of having "contact men" on the scene of action.

The Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals is generally associated in the public mind with the cause of prohibition. Its interests are wider than this, however. It takes as its province guardianship against all public violations of the moral law. Only the candidates who believe as the Board does respecting matters of temperance, prohibition, and public morals should be elected to public office.¹² The Board explains that:

. . . it has nothing to do with party politics, nor does it interpose between political parties. It does not concern itself with political questions which do not relate to public morals. It does not endorse or ban candidates under any circumstances. It DOES make known to its constituency the recorded position of parties and of political candidates and it does not hesitate to express opinions on all matters that involve the precious moral interests of the people.

A platform taking in all matters that involve the moral interests of a great nation has a wide scope, indeed. The Board believes that it "has a right to its say on such matters,"¹³ and it appeals to the "right of the people peaceably to assemble" and "to petition the government for redress of grievances" as granted by the Constitution. "The Board has not only this right, but the duty to offer the moral sanctions for civil government."¹⁴

The Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals is by no means the only church organization that has come to the capital to offer its moral sanction and influence. It is presented as the church organization most active on behalf of the most suc-

¹² *Clipsheet*, March 28, 1927.

cessful "cause" in Washington: that of Prohibition. The churches play a more important rôle than any of the other organized groups in the capital when it comes to fighting for causes that do not directly aid any special vocational or economic group. Some exception might be made to this statement in the case of the Roman Catholic Church. It is represented before the government and in the press by the National Catholic Welfare Council.

National Catholic Welfare Council. This organization in its attitude has generally taken a negative or defensive position in matters regarding national legislation. It has no program of reform that it wishes to have enacted into law, but when matters concerning the interests of Catholics, as such, arise, the Welfare Council appears before the national government as the spokesman for the Catholic Church.

Just as soon as we began to talk about such subjects as CATHOLIC EDUCATION, THE CATHOLIC PRESS, IMMIGRANT AID, AMERICANIZATION, THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM, THE DIVORCE EVIL, SOCIAL JUSTICE, BIRTH CONTROL, GIRLS' AND BOYS' WELFARE, LAY ORGANIZATIONS, THE STAGE AND THE SCREEN, LEGISLATION, RURAL WELFARE, TRAINING FOR SOCIAL SERVICE, and topics of kindred character, we are compelled at once to regard them in the light of their *interest to the whole Catholic body as well as to the public at large.*¹⁴

According to the classification which has been adopted for the purposes of this book, the National Catholic Welfare Council is to be considered rather among those associations representing a particular group in the community than as an association that is lobbying for certain abstract "causes." The Welfare Council declares that "the governmental structure of our country necessitates this common united activity of the Catholic body. . . . As Catholics, we have the obligation and grave responsibility of contributing to our help, our interest, in the framing of federal legislation."¹⁵

As the representative of a special group of voters the National Catholic Welfare Council is as active as any of the modern lobby groups at Washington, in the volume of publicity it puts out, in

¹⁴ "The hope of the harvest," pamphlet issued by the National Catholic Welfare Council, p. 8.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

the rallying of Catholic opinion, and in the number of contacts it attempts with the national government. Yet, like many other associations, its officers are offended if the word lobby is used in their hearing.¹⁶

Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Another and a very influential church organization maintaining a Washington committee at the capital and taking a close interest in a wide variety of problems is the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Unlike the National Catholic Welfare Council, this association does not wait until legislation looms that threatens the members of the church. It stands to "deal constructively with great social and international problems as they arise." Like the Welfare Council, it functions as a spokesman before the government. It represents twenty-eight Protestant denominations. It can hardly be taken as the representative of a special group of the community, however, since membership is divided among more than a score of churches which differ from one another on many points. For certain agreed purposes they can work together, and it is accordingly as a promoter of certain causes that the Federal Council of Churches may be most accurately described.¹⁷

These denominations coöperate on matters dealing with evangelism, social service, and other problems of a similar nature. They also coöperate for the advocacy of better race relations, for world peace, and for Prohibition. Their activities upon such questions bring them within the scope of this discussion. In dealing with these problems they necessarily come in contact with the agencies of government. They, likewise, must depend upon a favorable public sentiment, and this brings them under consideration as organs for the creation of opinion that is ultimately to be exerted upon Congress and the administration.

Specific illustrations are found in the report for 1926, citing the activities of the Federal Council before the government on the three matters referred to above. In the work for better race relations, the Council reports:

¹⁶ There are a few who take pride in the appellation "lobbyist," but such a lobbyist" is a *rara avis*.

¹⁷ The annual reports of the Federal Council of Churches seem to be the best source for accounts of the organization activities.

The years of 1922, 1923, 1924 and 1925 were not only years of activity to arouse the churches, but years of vigorous agitation for a Federal anti-lynch law. The Anti-Lynching Bill introduced by Congressman L. C. Dyer passed the House of Representatives. . . . The bill was lost in the Senate through a filibuster. It was reintroduced in the last session of the present Congress.¹⁸

The Federal Council has aided in the support of Prohibition.

The first step was the representation of the Federal Council of the Churches at the hearing before Congress last spring upon the proposed modification of the Volstead Act. A convincing statement of the overwhelming support of the policy of prohibition by the constituent bodies of the Federal Council was prepared and presented in a most telling manner. A delegation made up of a score of leading representatives of the constituent bodies of the Council, headed by Dr. Cadman as President of the Council, went to Washington for the purpose. It is entirely within the bounds of conservative statement to say that the interest of the Council in prohibition has never before been more forcefully set forth.¹⁹

The Federal Council has likewise devoted a great deal of attention to the problems concerning international justice and goodwill. It has appointed a special commission to handle these matters, and much work has been done. This is largely in the field of publicity and the arousing of public interest. Contacts with the government occur in the presentation of memorials or petitions, giving the consensus of opinion that the Federal Council has succeeded in rallying.

Numerous conferences and study groups have been formed to organize the sentiment for world peace and goodwill. The following are examples:

The National Study Conference on the Churches and World Peace. Composed of one hundred and sixty delegates from twenty-eight denominations.

The Committee on Education for Peace, consisting of "outstanding leaders in religious education in all the Protestant communions." The object is the "peace education of the children and youth in the Sunday Schools."

¹⁸ Annual Report of the Federal Council of Churches, pp. 42-43.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 13.

Universal Religious Peace Conference. Plans are being made to get together in this conference leaders from among the Moham-medans, Confucianists and three of the religions of India.²⁰

The Federal Council maintains relationships with many other organizations that are working for the same causes in which this body is interested. It also finds itself fighting other associations on many issues that come up before the government. For example, it has taken a stand generally unsympathetic toward the exclusion of Asiatics; it has likewise declared its policies opposed to required military training in schools and colleges.²¹ The foreign policy of the United States government has also come under its scrutiny. Naturally, upon such highly controversial questions it finds its policies counter to those of other strongly organized groups of citizens. The Federal Council of Churches, however, does not fear opposition. It is strong enough to maintain its position against all comers. Composed of four hundred members, nearly all clergymen elected by the governing bodies of Protestant denomination, it purports to represent 147,252 churches and 22,455,594 church members.²²

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 45, 47, 53.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 48.

²² Mr. A. S. Henning, Washington Correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*, after having recently made a survey of the church, pacifist, and radical organized groups of the country, and particularly those of Washington, has come to this conclusion:

"The most extensive agency of propaganda in the world is the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America . . . Through the dissemination of propaganda and the use of the mass lobby on a hitherto unprecedented scale the Federal Council brings a powerful and well nigh irresistible influence to bear upon the federal and state governments and public opinion generally in the determination of moral, political, economic and social questions.

"With growing confidence in its power and influence the Federal Council in the name of the Protestant churches is now challenging the supremacy of the government itself in certain fields of action."—*Chicago Tribune*, July 17, 1927.

CHAPTER XIII

THE NATIONALISTS AND THE INTERNATIONALISTS

There yet remain to be considered a number of associations maintaining offices at the capital which concern themselves with some of the most vital questions confronting the national government. These societies, both in their relations with the public and with the government, are interested in formulating sentiment or expressing opinions upon such matters as Americanism, patriotism, internationalism, pacifism, radicalism, communism, immigration, or national defense. They differ among themselves as to the attitude they take upon these questions and as to the problems upon which they place chief emphasis. Nevertheless, the viewpoints of these associations may be divided into two fairly definite categories. The one class is nationalistic, conservative, and inclined to follow traditional policies. The other takes a liberal viewpoint, advocates internationalism, and expresses a desire to change the *status quo*. It naturally follows that between these divisions there is little in common. In fact, actual ill-feeling and a very deep distrust exists in some cases. To understand the forces aligned upon the issues mentioned above, it may be best to describe in turn the various organizations interested in creating public opinion and exerting pressure on Congress on these questions of national policy.

The "Veteran" Organizations. Among the most important of the nationalist associations are those composed of ex-service men. The most outstanding example is the American Legion, but there are numerous others. The veteran organizations maintaining offices in Washington are the Disabled Veterans of the World War, Veterans of Foreign Wars, United Spanish War Veterans, Disabled Emergency Officers of the World War, and the American Legion. The Reserve Officers' Association of the United States, although not strictly a veteran organization, might also be listed, as most of its members have seen service. Moreover, upon occasion, officers appear before congressional committees to represent their membership from such soldier organizations as the Military Order

of the World War, the National Guard Association of the United States, or the Adjutant Generals' Association of the United States. All of these organizations, acting as the spokesmen of the organized group they represent, serve to further the interests of their members before the government. They are concerned with obtaining pensions and adjusting compensation in most cases. As such, they function much as the other representatives of special groups described in preceding chapters.¹

¹ Attention should be called in passing to the activities of the so-called Army and Navy lobby. Members of the service and officers in the War Department and the Navy Department of course take a great interest in legislation calling for increased appropriations for national defense and bring to bear what pressure they may upon members of Congress. For a discussion of this point, see W. F. Willoughby, *The National Budget System*, 54-57. In the *United States Daily*, June 27, 1927, Representative W. Frank James, acting chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs during the sixty-ninth Congress states with regard to the "army lobby" (quoting in part):

"It is the duty of the military establishment to study every problem that is necessary for national defense, and then come before Congress and present its views. After we have heard the Department and asked it questions, it is our duty to accept its views, amend them, or reject them. It is then the duty of the War Department to accept the findings of the Committee as representing Congress and the people and, as good soldiers, to carry out the legislation we have passed.

"We believe it is the duty of the War Department to come before us and express its views on legislation, even if contrary to the Committee's views. Even after we have reported out a bill and it has passed the House and it has gone to the Senate, the Department has the right to go before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs and express its views. We do not, however, believe that after a bill has passed the House the military establishment has any right to instruct its officers to lobby against it. I do not consider appearing before the Senate Military Affairs Committee as lobbying, but we do not believe that the military establishment has any right to use a single dollar of money in propaganda against us, because Congress furnishes the money and Congress represents the people.

"I do not believe that anybody in the War Department in the future will do that, but if it should so happen we were to find any money for propaganda used against us in any way—whether paid for in time of men or in actual money—I mean after the House has passed the legislation—we would call the guilty party before us and if necessary would introduce legislation that would prevent it in the future."

In this connection it is interesting to note that the various branches of the military service have their own professional associations. There is the United States Infantry Association, the United States Field Artillery Association, the United States Cavalry Association, etc. These associations issue journals that serve to keep up the *esprit de corps* and act as mediums for the expression of the group opinion. The word "lobby" is anathema to such organizations, and their denials of any such activities are emphatic.

There is another side of their activity, however, that differentiates these societies and makes them of peculiar significance to this discussion. As organizations of veterans they feel in a special position to speak upon matters concerning American institutions and government. They feel called upon to express their opinion upon questions of national defense and the many problems arising in this connection. They consider that inasmuch as their members have experienced the hardships of war and fought in the defense of the country, they are particularly qualified to speak upon the subject. The purposes of these associations are well summed up by the following statement of objectives of the Military Order of the World War: "Adequate national defense, opposing United States Army or Navy reduction; support of Air Service in all branches; favoring selective service as a national policy, building up the Officers' Reserve Corps and Citizens' Military Training Camps, favoring disabled officers and men legislation, combat of Red propaganda, *et cetera*."²

These organizations, working for the above objectives through the usual methods, rally the opinion of their members at the annual conventions, and send spokesmen to Congress who appear before committees and work with senators or representatives who will lend a sympathetic ear. The soldier vote has the reputation of possessing great power. In Congress there are many ex-service men who willingly coöperate with the veteran organizations. In fact, the chairman of the legislative committee of an important soldier organization such as the American Legion in many cases distributes its measures to various Legionnaires in Congress and then supervises and advises these congressmen in their task of getting favorable action upon the bills.³ Furthermore, these associations of veterans all have their local units in various parts of the country through which pressure can be exerted in the home districts of recalcitrant congressmen. The American Legion boasts a membership of seven hundred thousand men and a women's

If such groups take no interest in legislation concerning their welfare, they are unique, to say the least.

² Leaflet issued by the Military Order of the World War: "Why eligible officers should join the Military Order of the World War."

³ Reports to the Eighth Annual Convention of the American Legion, 1926, p. 115.

auxiliary of two hundred thousand, gathered in 10,216 posts,⁴ while the Veterans of Foreign Wars have a membership of one hundred and twenty-five thousand, the Disabled Veterans of over twenty-four thousand, and the Reserve Officers of about one hundred and eleven thousand members. The Military Order is composed of approximately eight thousand officers who served in the World War.⁵

An aspect emphasized by all these associations is their avowed "love of country." The representative of one writes, in part, as follows: "Organizations of veterans such as this and all similar organizations with varied eligibility for membership have as their basic objective a keen sense of patriotism, upholding the ideals for which they fought and endeavoring to pass them on to posterity."⁶ It is as societies of patriots, as well as of veterans, that these associations carry on their work before the public and before the government.

The American Legion. The record of the National Americanism Committee⁷ of the American Legion illustrates one of the most active campaigns of a veteran organization to encourage patriotism and good citizenship as understood by that association. The duty of this Committee is to educate the public, and particularly the children, to an understanding of and respect for America's ideals and institutions. In carrying out this object national essay contests are held, programs are prepared for the observance of patriotic holidays, Boy Scout troops are taken under the sponsorship of the Legion, and an "approach to the red-blooded American boy who has no time for preachments" is made through the Junior All-American Baseball Program.

In 1926 an "American Education Week" was held, some of the days of which were entitled "For God and Country Day," "Constitutional Rights Day," and "Patriotism Day." The observance of this period has been established in many schools, and appropriate programs are suggested by the Legion. This work of interpreting to the people American ideals as the American Legion understands

⁴ *Ibid.*, 10, 118.

⁵ See table in Appendix 3, giving further figures of organizations treated in this chapter.

⁶ Letter from Major Gist Blair, of Military Order of World War, November 10, 1927.

⁷ Reports to American Legion, *op. cit.*, 28-29.

them, is aided by the News Service, which gives wide publicity to all the activities of the Legion. This organization uses to the full all the usual publicity channels: the newspapers, magazines, syndicates, radio, photographs, and motion pictures.

. . . the news service informs the legionnaires of what the Legion as a whole is doing or contemplates doing. Scattered in over ten thousand posts, it is obviously only through publicity channels that this great force can be mobilized and concentrated on a given project or aroused to action to obtain certain results.⁸

The chief projects, of course, upon which the Legion concentrates have to do with the welfare of the ex-soldier. Naturally, it is to the national government that the Legionnaires look for aid. Accordingly, the National Legislative Committee is one of the most important departments of the organization.

The reports of the National Legislative Committee to the national conventions of the American Legion provide a wealth of illustration and of clinical examples of the methods used by a powerful group of this sort in putting legislation through Congress. Of course, the legislative agent in his report wants to convince the members of the great influence of his efforts in their behalf, but this does not serve to make the following account, taken from the Committee's report, any the less typical of the activities of the Legion. In this case the history of a bill is given from its inception in the minds of the Legionnaires to its final passage by Congress.⁹

The scene opens in the national convention of the legion held in Omaha, October, 1925. Vital defects were seen in the Adjusted Compensation Act. Accordingly a special sub-committee of the Convention Committee on Legislation, after two days' intensive study, recommended five amendments to the compensation act. These amendments were adopted by resolution of the Convention.

Following the Omaha Convention the National Legislative Committee incorporated these resolutions into a bill. An informal discussion of this bill was arranged with the Veteran's Bureau, and the Committee made some changes in phraseology. Further consultations were held with the senator and representative who were

⁸ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 71-75.

selected to "father" the bill. The measure was introduced in the House and Senate. It was decided that it would be most advantageous to push the bill in the House first.

Accordingly, the Legion's legislative agent arranged for hearings before the Committee on Ways and Means. There were a score of bills to amend the Adjusted Compensation Act pending before this committee, but the Legion's bill was the only one considered. A sub-committee of this body held further hearings at which the Legion was active. This sub-committee reported back to the Committee on Ways and Means, and the bill as finally drafted differed only slightly from the measure as originally introduced by the American Legion. It was now known as the Green bill. The Committee agreed that the best way to get the bill through as it stood would be to request permission of the House leaders that the bill be brought up under suspension of the rules, so that it would not be amended from the floor of the House but either accepted or rejected in its entirety.

An unfavorable response, however, led the sponsors of the bill to believe that the House leaders did not mean to allow the bill to come to a vote. It was up to the Legion to fight for its measure. The Legion's legislative agent takes up the story at this point:

Accordingly, your representatives and members of the Ways and Means Committee interested in the Green Bill immediately began pressure upon the House Leaders to obtain consideration of the measure, notwithstanding their objections. The situation was outlined in detail to Legion officials in the various departments and their coöperation requested. These department officials loyally brought pressure upon their Senators and Congressmen for action upon the Green Bill, but the House leaders had such rigid control over the legislative situation that in spite of this Legion pressure, they continued to prevent action on the measure.

* * * *

On May 3 your representative laid this situation before the legionnaires in the House who were friendly to the measure. On May 13 Chairmen Green held a conference of the House leaders, but was informed that there would probably be no adjusted compensation legislation at that session of Congress. This information was given by your Vice-Chairman to the National Executive Committee then in session at National Headquarters, and on May 14 the Executive Committee adopted a strong resolution calling upon the House leaders to allow immediate action on the Green Bill.

The situation was gone over thoroughly with the legionnaires of the House and on May 22 the Republican House veterans held a meeting to consider ways and means. At our request a sub-committee of the House Veterans was appointed to place the situation before the House leaders and request immediate action on the Green Bill. This sub-committee of veterans appeared before the House Steering Committee on May 25 and argued immediate action on the bill.

At this time your representatives were in daily contact with the House veterans and the House leaders. Your Vice-Chairman called upon each member of the House Steering Committee presenting the actual cost of the measure, and pointing out that further delay might cause it to fail enactment at the session. The situation was communicated to the field and Legion officials wrote many letters to their Senators and Congressmen showing the exact cost of the measure and the urgency for its enactment.

* * * *

Following our intensive efforts, on June 30 the majority leader requested and obtained unanimous consent from the House to allow a vote upon the Green Bill at any time during the remainder of the session that he would move to bring it up. On July 1 the House leader moved to bring it up, and the Green Bill was therefore immediately brought up by Chairman Green of the Ways and Means Committee, and passed by the House by a vote of 290 to 1.

Your Vice-Chairman immediately conferred with the Senate leaders and members of the Senate Finance Committee and arranged for a hearing on the bill by the Senate Finance Committee for 2.30 p. m. the next day, July 2.

This hearing was held, the Legion being the only veterans' organization represented. . . . The amended bill was written up that night. Congress adopted a resolution that it would adjourn the next day.

The situation confronting your committee was extremely hazardous. Congress was to adjourn at 3 p. m. the next day, July 3. It was necessary to have the bill debated on the floor of the Senate, section by section, risk amendments from the floor of the Senate, and have the bill as passed by the Senate again rewritten and rushed to the House of Representatives and have that body concur in the Senate amendments. At that late hour there would be no time for a conference between the two Houses on the Senate amendments, as such a conference would consume sufficient time to make enactment of the measure impossible before adjournment.

The Legion, however, was equal to the occasion, and succeeded in getting the bill passed and signed by the President before Con-

gress adjourned. It is not difficult to see how it won its reputation of getting what it goes after or how important the Legislative Committee is in this process.

It is this committee that is charged with carrying out the National Defense Program of the Legion and with opposing any proposed measures that run counter to the policy of this veteran organization. For example, the Committee reports:¹⁰

Legislation Defeated. . . . The Legion took an active part in preventing the enactment of two laws which would weaken our national defense. . . .

The Welsh Bill (H. R. 8538), would do away with military training as a requirement for graduation in certain of our Land Grant Colleges. The measure is advocated by pacifist organizations. The House Military Affairs Committee, following extensive hearings, at which the Legion opposed the measure, declined to report out the bill.

Following protests from your National Legislative Committee the Senate in executive session of July 2, 1926, deferred action on the Geneva Gas Protocol until next session of Congress.

When the Legislative Committee protests, it is certain to have a respectful hearing. The wide-spread organization, the news service keeping the membership informed, and the Legislative Committee watching legislation and maintaining contacts with senators, representatives, and other governmental officers, form altogether a powerful organ of persuasion.

The above excerpts, selected almost at random from the voluminous report of the Legislative Committee, serve to indicate the fields of national policy into which a purely veteran organization, speaking for the ex-service man, feels called upon to enter and express an opinion. Quotations might be multiplied, but suffice it to say that the Legion has taken a stand in like manner upon naval affairs,¹¹ upon army, navy and civil aeronautics,¹² and upon immigration, naturalization, and deportation.¹³ It has also supported bills providing for the participation of the United States in a preparatory commission "to consider questions of reduction and

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 109.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 108.

¹² *Ibid.*, 77.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 103.

limitation of armaments."¹⁴ These questions are not directly concerned with the interests of war veterans. They are questions which are of concern to citizens generally. It is interesting to note that such problems receive attention from the modern lobbies that the ex-service men maintain at the capital. However, the associations that specialize in such matters of general national import have yet to be mentioned.

Patriotic Societies. When questions arise involving the Constitution, American institutions, national defense, immigration, or attacks are launched upon the flag, the nation's heroes, or traditions and orthodox ideals of the United States, a number of national societies swing into action. These associations differ from the great economic groups, such as the business men's, which through the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, may at times likewise take an interest in such matters. These associations profess no economic concern with the problems upon which they take a stand. Their avowed attitude is that of "patriots."

There are many of these societies throughout the country. The patriotic societies having representatives in Washington are the following:

National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution
 National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution
 American Association for Constitutional Government
 National Patriotic Council
 National Security League
 Patriotic Order of the Sons of America
 Sentinels of the Republic
 American Constitutional Association

One of the most active of these societies in Washington at the present time is the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The society occupies a marble palace in most imposing style and employs a retinue of clerks and workers. The D. A. R., dedicated¹⁵ to "defend the institutions of government; to venerate our national patriots; and to respect traditions of nationalism," has developed into a strong national organization with chapters in all the states and hundreds of influential women

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 64.

¹⁵ Resolutions adopted by the Thirty-sixth Continental Congress, 9.

in the membership. To-day as in the past, the society is interested in such matters as protecting the memory of George Washington, honoring the flag, erecting or recommending the erection of memorials to patriots, and similar historical matters.

Of late years, however, the D. A. R. has become active in another field. It is taking an interest in current developments. Largely through the efforts of the Committee on National Defense, the officers at national headquarters are watching legislation and keeping the members informed of the activities of forces which are opposed to the principles for which the Daughters of the American Revolution stand. In its activities in this field the D. A. R. operates much as the other organizations at the capital. It distributes speeches of congressmen and other data appearing in the Congressional Record pertaining to legislation in which the organization is interested. This material often is sent under the postal frank of a friendly senator or representative. The following letter written by the National President to the state regents bears upon this point.¹⁰

NATIONAL SOCIETY DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN
REVOLUTION, MEMORIAL CONTINENTAL HALL

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 16, 1926.

MEMORIAL CONTINENTAL HALL, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
December 16, 1926.

MY DEAR MADAM STATE REGENT: About six weeks since there was sent to you a copy of a very important document which I presume you have read. You will therefore understand the importance of the request contained in this letter.

The document to which I refer is the speech of Senator Bayard, of Delaware, on the Phipps-Parker maternity extension bill as delivered before the Senate on July 3, and which was sent to you under his postal frank at the request of Mrs. Walker, of our committee on national defense.

This bill will likely come up for final action immediately after the holidays. It is very desirable that you and your entire State organization use all possible influence with your Senators in opposition to the passage of this bill.

It has long been the pride of our society that we do not dissipate our influence with Congress by often pressing upon them our

¹⁰ Speech of Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware, Cong. Record, 69 Cong. 2 sess., p. 2, January 8, 1927.

attitude on any legislative measure, but this is a case which is of sufficient importance to concentrate all our energies toward the defeat of an unconstitutional and vicious law.

Having already studied the document to which I refer I shall presume your comprehension of the matter and not go into it further at this time.

Very sincerely yours,
 GRACE W. BROSSAU,
 (Mrs. Alfred J. Brosseau)
President General U. S. D. A. R.

An especial effort was put forth on this occasion, but the Daughters of the American Revolution have likewise taken part in forwarding or opposing many other bills before Congress. For example, in the resolutions of the Thirty-fifth Continental Congress of the Society are to be found resolutions opposing H. R. 8538, which proposed to eliminate military training in the schools; endorsing H. R. 8953, providing for retirement of members of the Nurses' Corps of the army and navy; and approving H. R. 7848 and S. 1750 establishing the Women's Bureau. These are cited from the report of one year merely to indicate the interest that is taken in specific measures.¹⁷ In addition to such bills the D. A. R., through its national convention, takes a position upon general policies; for example, advocating the abolishment of federal bureaus and upholding the present restrictive immigration laws.

One of the most interesting activities of the D. A. R. in its work as a medium of rallying public opinion is displayed in the following resolution. To quote in part:

WHEREAS, The plan for destructive revolution in the United States by "Red" Internationalists is not a myth, but a proven fact; and

WHEREAS, Its emissaries are working unceasingly to spread their propaganda by insidious, effective, and well-financed methods.

. . .

* * * *

Resolved, That the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, in Thirty-fourth Congress assembled, recommend a definite intensive campaign to be organized in every state, to combat this danger; and further be it

¹⁷ Resolutions adopted by the Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Continental Congresses.

Resolved, That State Regents be asked to appoint a chairman to direct the campaign of "Coöperation on National Defense."

There are workers at the national headquarters who have made an intensive study of the activities of radical groups and collected files full of data and evidence of various sorts, which are used to forward the campaign and to answer all questions on the subject. In line with this effort to arouse sentiment against the "Red" menace, is the work of the Society to marshal opinion in the interest of national defense. The Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense, sponsored by the D. A. R., is an important medium whereby the representatives of thirty-three national patriotic associations are assembled and resolutions passed setting forth the opinions of these organized groups on a wide variety of matters concerned with the military and naval defense of the country. That the resolutions are not merely to be expressions of opinion, the following quotation testifies:¹⁹

Resolved, That each member of this conference acquaint her Senators and Representatives, both State and National, with

¹⁹ Resolutions of Thirty-fifth Continental Congress, 5.

²⁰ Resolutions of Thirty-sixth Continental Congress, 6-11. The following list of patriotic societies that took part in this conference on national defense indicates their nature. Their titles illustrate the appeal to sentiment and tradition which form the basis of such groups: American Legion Auxiliary, American Nurses Association, American War Mothers, American Women's Legion, American Women's Press Association, Auxiliary Disabled American Veterans, Auxiliary Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War, Auxiliary United Spanish War Veterans, Colonial Daughters of the 17th Century, Daughters of the American Colonists, Daughters of the American Revolution, Daughters of the Cincinnati, Daughters of the Colonial Wars, Daughters of the Revolution, Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War, Ladies Auxiliary Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic, Ladies of the Union Veteran Legion, National League of American Pen Women, National Allied Veteran and Patriotic Organizations, National Council Daughters of America, National Patriotic Council, National Patriotic Women of America, National Society of Colonial Daughters of America, National Society Dames of the Loyal Legion, National Society Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America, National Society Patriotic Builders, National Society of New England Women, National Society United Daughters of 1812, Order of the First Families of Virginia, Order of the Gold Star, Society of Daughters of Holland Dames, Women's Army and Navy Legion of Valor, Women's Naval Service League, Women's Overseas Service League, and Women's Relief Corps.

the sentiments of this conference as embodied in its resolutions so that the lawmakers of our country will understand that this conference stands whole-heartedly and unequivocally for adequate national defense.

The other patriotic societies at the capital, while similar to the D. A. R. in their general attitude toward most questions, do not have the same wide membership or equal financial resources. Nevertheless, all realize the importance of possessing supporters in various parts of the country. For example, the Sentinels of the Republic state that they have begun

the formation of State Committees and smaller organizations through means of Key Sentinels in cities, townships and counties. These state and local organizations must be kept in close communication with the headquarters in Washington, which, in turn, must be supplied with adequate facilities and abundant literature for the campaign of education which must be waged upon a much broader scale throughout the country.²⁰

The motto of this association is "Every citizen a sentinel; Every home a sentinel box."

The United States Flag Association endeavors to recruit members by getting persons to act as "flag staffs," who will obtain sufficient individuals, representing stars and stripes, to form a living flag. For the small fee of one dollar the patriotic citizen may become a star or even a blue field of a "Living Flag," which "once created goes on waving forever." The object of this society, like that of many others of the same class, is to "make it possible for the loyal elements of the nation to present a solid, unified, well-organized and militant front against any and all un-American influences and forces."²¹ Some of these nationalist societies confine their interests to one subject instead of taking in the wide field of legislation that might be denominated "patriotic." For example, there is the Immigration Restriction League, or the Navy League of the U. S., or the National Aeronautic Association which, as their names clearly imply, confine their legislative ac-

²⁰ "To Arms! To Arms!" booklet issued by the Sentinels of the Republic, II.

²¹ Leaflet issued by the United States Flag Association.

tivities to the subjects in which their titles describe their concern.²² Most of the associations mentioned up to this point also work together on occasion. They represent a fairly unified attitude on most national legislative problems. However, these associations are balanced by other groups at Washington that in a large measure represent the other side. It is not desirable to create the impression that all the societies mentioned above are absolutely opposed to all the associations to be mentioned hereafter. Nevertheless, between the divisions a very considerable difference of opinion does exist on the same subjects. This merely goes to point out the thesis of this book; namely, that all the interests of the nation are organized into associations and represented before the public and the national government.

The Internationalists. There are a number of associations in Washington that concern themselves chiefly with attempting to improve the relationships existing between nations. They urge that people take an international viewpoint as opposed to an attitude primarily interested in the welfare of one nation. It is in this direction that world peace lies, they believe, and whatever their method or membership, it is as peace societies that these associations function. In their work to this end, they attempt to rally the pacifists in support of their policies and to obtain from the national government action that, in their opinion, will lead to peace and international good-will. These societies, dedicated to the same general aim, differ greatly. One of the most active associations working for peace is the National Council for the Prevention of War. It conducts a militant campaign for world peace. Its admirers call it the "spear head of the Peace Movement." This organization is composed of thirty-four national associations of many varieties, all of which have a common interest in the advocacy of peace. The National Council is the clearing house for this mem-

²² The aircraft industry, being dependant in large measure upon the army and navy as a market for its product of course takes an interest in national defense. There are several organizations in this field: Manufacturers Aircraft Association, National Aeronautical Association of the U. S. A., and the Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce of America. The last-named organization lists as one of its objects "To advocate and promote in every lawful way the enactment of just and equitable laws, both national and state, pertaining to aeronautics." For further data, see the Aircraft Year Book, published by this chamber.

bership on matters pertaining to the prevention of war and the establishment of international good-will.

For the purposes of this discussion the National Council is an excellent example of the newer type of organization that is operating within this democracy for the purpose of arousing and formulating opinion upon a given topic. The Council is a great publicity bureau. Its chief and almost only instrument is propaganda. Although composed formally and technically of member associations, actually the work of this body is carried on by a paid staff which alone is responsible for the numerous publications issued. The Council itself cannot take action except upon unanimous consent, which is very seldom, if ever, arrived at in an entity composed of thirty-five independent and diverse organizations. Consequently, it is the half-dozen officers in the Washington office who stir up opinion and use the member organizations as channels for the distribution of their propaganda. The Council does not conduct a lobby in the same way as do the economic groups, such as the farmers or laborers. It does not testify before congressional committees as representing thirty-four organizations. It does, however, act as a motivating influence upon the member associations by maintaining contacts with congressmen, watching developments in the national government, and attempting to bring the influence of the member associations to bear upon questions arising before the national government concerning peace and foreign relations. A striking example of the extent to which this organization attempts to arouse and direct public opinion on problems pertaining to peace with which the government is concerned may be found in the recent difficulty between Mexico and the United States. This account is given in the News Bulletin as follows:

HOW \$12,000 HELPED TO PREVENT WAR WITH MEXICO

On January 13, leading New York papers warned the American people that if they wanted peace with Mexico, they must begin to fight for it. The National Council for the Prevention of War, as a clearinghouse for some thirty organizations, was in position to act without delay and raised at once a fund of \$12,000 among our friends. A small committee of well-known men and women was formed quickly, who signed a telegram sent to one thousand prominent people in all of the forty-eight States asking if they would sign a statement favoring arbitration with Mexico. The statement was included in the telegram.

More than four hundred replied within twenty-four hours. The statement, with these signatures, was printed and this document together with the warning editorials from New York papers was mailed to every one of the thirteen thousand six hundred newspapers in the United States. Leading papers in New York carried the statement in full with all of the signatures—three columns of them.

Next was required a technical statement to prove that the issue was arbitrable. This was prepared by a professor of International Law at Columbia University. It was sent by special delivery and air mail to two hundred and forty professors of political science, international law and history in the leading educational institutions of the United States asking if they would sign it. One hundred and one of them assented within forty-eight hours and this document was printed and released to the newspaper with the one hundred and one signatures. It too was carried by the leading papers of the country in full.

COÖPERATION TURNS THE TIDE

Meanwhile preparations had been made for a meeting of organizations interested in world peace. On three days' notice official and unofficial representatives of thirty such organizations met in the Quaker Meetinghouse in Washington, where a joint program was agreed upon looking to obtaining as many letters and telegrams as possible to the President and to members of the Senate. Powerful pressure was being exerted on the Administration by certain of the oil men. We must offset it. Several of the organizations had begun work weeks before.

Next came the mailing of an appeal for similar action together with necessary information to seventy-five thousand ministers. Many thousands of influential people also were reached with copies of speeches made by members of the United States Senate. Letters to local papers were urged.

The result of this joint campaign is now a matter of history. Washington correspondents reported that during many years in Washington they had never seen such an outpouring of public opinion. The country was for arbitration and was glad of an opportunity of saying so. The United States Senate voted 79 to 0 in favor of arbitration. The attitude of the Administration became conciliatory and friendly towards Mexico. The tide was turned. It is a significant illustration of the power of public opinion when informed, united, and aroused on a great issue of peace or possible war.²²

²² News Bulletin of the National Council for the Prevention of War, September, 1927.

This is not an isolated incident of the participation of the organized pacifists in governmental affairs. The Director of the Council announces that the program of his organization is cut out for it by events. Accordingly, he is able to state that the program of the Council will deal with those matters that Congress will be forced to consider at its next session. For example, the proposals with which the Council concerned itself in 1927 included among other things:

To educate for the acceptance of M. Briand's proposal to outlaw war between France and the United States by treaty, as the precursor of other similar treaties.

To find the way to break the deadlock between our nationalistic Senate and the rest of the world in order that we may enter the World Court.

To curb the ship-builders and the whole "big navy," group, in order to prevent the competitive building of cruisers as against Great Britain.

To educate regarding the danger, wickedness, and economic folly of imperialistic policies in order that friendship may replace force and threats of force as the basis of our foreign relations.²²

In the attempt to put such a program into effect the Council must rely upon the amount of sentiment it can stir up both through the member organizations and among the public generally. In its propaganda methods, the Council resorts to the usual publicity methods. Its News Bulletin, issued monthly, has a paid circulation of over ten thousand. During the first six months of 1927, six hundred and sixty thousand pieces of literature were distributed. An attempt is being made to establish speaking bureaus in every state. By inculcating through these means an international point of view and a sense of "worldmindedness" on the part of the average citizen, it is thought that distrust of foreign nations will be broken down and international goodwill established.

In this endeavor the National Council considers it very important to start with the children. Special propaganda has been developed to attract their interest and enthusiasm. For example, the Council lists among its publications:

Children from Many Lands. A portfolio of ten posters, 11 by 14 in., printed in six pastel colors and depicting the children of England, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Russia, China, Japan,

Holland, and America in their native costumes and surroundings, with a verse below each picture setting forth some national characteristic. Excellent for developing international goodwill among young children.

Several volumes of "Goodwill" books for older children are also published by the Council in order to give "boys and girls correct ideas about the interdependence and essential unity of interest of the countries of the world." To this same end contests are inaugurated, the latest being a project to have American students compete in translating the speech of M. Briand made before the League of Nations upon the occasion of the reception of Germany into that body. In an earlier contest, children of thirty countries competed in selecting a "Calendar of World Heroes," the object being to indicate that there are many great heroes that never saw a battlefield. This peace propaganda has a circulation running high into the thousands.²³

An organization working in somewhat the same spirit as the National Council for the Prevention of War is the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.²⁴ This organization likewise works upon the children and takes an interest in the text-books used in schools. It distributes propaganda declaring against compulsory military training in the schools, and opposing "economic imperialism." The following quotation is from a leaflet sent from this organization:

Write at once to the President and to your Senators and Representatives, and ask immediate action for radical measures against war, such as:

- (1) Drastic reduction of expenditures for the army and navy, leading to the removal of all military expenses;
- (2) Adherence to the World Court . . . etc.

It is these organizations which come out so militantly for peace and "worldmindedness" that arouse the opposition of associations such as those mentioned in the first part of this chapter, which incline to a nationalist attitude. However, there are other peace societies at the capital that function without often incurring the displeasure of other groups.

²³ The Council's numerous pamphlets, posters, etc. give a good indication of its propaganda activities.

²⁴ See "literature" of the W. I. L.

Peace Societies. The American Peace Society is the oldest national organization of its kind in the capital to-day. It was founded in 1828 and opened its Washington office in 1911.²⁵ This date makes it a veteran among the societies that have taken up their quarters there within recent years. It is conservative in character, includes many prominent people as members, and has been active in the peace movement over a long period of years. Its chief activity is the publication of a dignified magazine called the "Advocate of Peace Through Justice."

The Interparliamentary Union, the Pan-American Union, and the English Speaking Union are other diverse types at Washington that maintain representatives there and encourage international good-will in their various fields. The American Society of International Law and the American Institute of International Law do likewise. The League of Nations Non-Partisan League supports an office at the capital for supplying information and distributing propaganda. Through the channels available to them, all these organizations work to rally public opinion in support of peace. Of all the organizations working for international good-will, the most substantial is the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. It has almost unlimited resources at its command and is managed by eminent scholars. The officers of this organization take the attitude that the holding of public meetings attended by considerable bodies of enthusiasts, the passing of resolutions commending the cause of peace and international arbitration and decrying war and the circulation of the more emotional type of pacifist literature are all well enough in their way, but they leave the great body of opinion untouched and therefore the action of the government untouched.²⁶

It is to reach this great body of influential opinion that the Foundation devotes its main efforts, and it has evolved some very skillful methods of spreading its propaganda. By way of illustration may be cited the European trips given to representative groups of American Professors of International Law and to newspaper men from all parts of the country. These classes are selected

²⁵ Advocate of Peace, magazine published by the American Peace Society, issue of April, 1927.

²⁶ International Conciliation, issued by the Carnegie Foundation, July, 1924, p. 40.

because of their opportunity to reach a wide audience in their home communities and to contribute thereby to "the enlightenment of American public opinion on international affairs."²⁷ A knowledge of and a sympathetic attitude toward other nations is further encouraged by the International Mind Alcoves, which the Foundation has established in libraries in small communities throughout the United States. These alcoves consist of a collection of books dealing with the daily life, customs, and history of the various foreign peoples.

The most important work of the Foundation, however, is its forwarding of the study and codification of international law. For the amicable settlement of difficulties among nations, through legal or judicial methods, an agreement upon at least some of the fundamental rules of international law seems necessary before much can be accomplished before a tribunal. The Foundation through various agencies is aiding in drawing up this body of law.²⁸ It also provides fellowships for teachers of this subject,²⁹ in a further endeavor to improve the relations among nations.

The activities of the Foundation are carried on by eminent scholars with a firm financial basis for all of their projects. The endowment is \$10,000,000. This organization is the richest of the pacifist societies in the country. Its research work and its publication are generally acknowledged to be contributions to science.

Of the many associations discussed in this chapter, it must be remembered that all believe that their way is the way of patriotism and the way of peace. If the diversity of attitude and the variety of their methods has given some inkling of the forces of organized opinion which operate upon the government in its foreign relations and in its national defense policy, it appears that even the paths of peace and patriotism are beset with many opposed and bristling points of view.

²⁷ Annual Report of the Foundation, 1927, p. 39.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 69-78.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 79.

CHAPTER XIV

CONCLUSIONS: THE EFFECT AND THE EFFECTIVENESS OF NATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

It has been the purpose of the foregoing chapters to indicate in some degree the extent to which certain extra-legal agencies have grown within the past decade and become an integral part of our representative system of government. This latter statement is made advisedly. These agencies are as much a part of the actual government of the country as are other, now well-established units that have arisen outside of the formal legal framework of law and constitution. The party caucus, the nominating conventions, the party platform, and the spoils system are examples of this type of development. Their influence upon the form of government in this country is inestimable, yet they grew with no legal sanction. Some have subsequently been brought under the regulation of the governmental authorities, others yet remain beyond the pale. However, all of them, in greater or less degree, are recognized generally as being parts of the system of government of this country. The "national association" in its capacity as a lobby may well be added to this same category.

The germ of organization has found a culture in this country in which to luxuriate. Some suggestion of this growth has been indicated in the preceding pages, but it has been the chief aim of this book to picture, albeit in rather broad strokes, the manner in which hundreds of these organizations have taken upon themselves significant functions before the national government. Many of them through their local divisions carry on similar work before the state and county governments. For others, the duties in connection with the government are but a part of the total of their activities. Some few of them have never thought it wise or necessary to bespeak the welfare of their membership before the authorities. As has already been stated, every organized group of voters, held together by some common interest, is an association possessing potentially the tendency and the power of bringing the pressure of the group to bear upon the government.

These associations have taken to themselves two of the most important functions in a democracy; namely, the creation of public

opinion and the use of this opinion in the promotion of specific legislative measures. Some writers have seen in the activities of these associations in Washington the advent of a soviet system of representation.¹ However, these organized groups in their work before the national government pass beyond the scope of any purely economic or industrial soviet system. They are not confined to the representatives of special classes and vocational or economic groups. These are present, but they are not alone. Spokesmen for every sort of group, altruistic, moral, religious, militaristic, pacifist, and miscellaneous, are likewise in the capital. All extremes, all points of view, all creeds and schemes have an opportunity to add their slogans of war cries to the babel.

Also, be it reiterated by way of emphasis, the groups that are effective are highly organized. The national associations operating at Washington in the interest of their membership have become an institution. In the breadth and scope of these groups, in their tremendous variety, and in the systematic manner in which they operate, it is not exaggerating the situation to declare that within the last decade there has emerged a very distinct form of "Supplemental Representation." Of course, it is acknowledged that small groups have always striven for their particular interests before governmental powers. The extent of the present-day operations at the capital and the systematic methods employed, however, would distinguish the national associations from the petitioners and lobbyists of a former day even if the power they wield and the respect they command did not. In the light of the position which these organizations have attained, it is well to consider their effect.

The Effect. What effect on people, party, legislators, and on government generally have these associations seemed to exert? What tendencies in representation are they developing? The answers to these questions may be summarized as follows:

Organized groups of citizens functioning in the interest of a particular class serve to undermine any tendency toward a national point of view and bring about a new structuralization in society in which the welfare of the whole is forgotten for the immediate concerns of the few. In the party system of this country in which two major parties, as the national representatives of a broad "vertical"

¹ D. Wilhelm, Washington Soviets, in *Forum*, November, 1925, LXIV, 743-51.

division of all voters, strive together for the leadership, the appearance of organizations forwarding the specific wants of special groups tends to cut across party lines and to displace the national party as the chief medium of carrying policies into effect. An organized group in urging a congressman to consider its interest before the interest of the "people" and threatening its non-support and hostility for non-compliance, acts as a deterrent on the congressman's freedom of thought and action and makes him a mere spokesman of its interests. The organizations that take as their sole criterion the attitude of a public man toward their particular programs, are undermining the very roots of a democratic government. To the extent to which they force attention to their own selfish interests, to the neglect of the national welfare of the country, they are highly subversive. Instead of a government which seeks to act in the interest of the entire nation, the systematic agitation of particular groups for their own welfare sets up a government in which factions war among themselves for supremacy.

Fundamentally, there is exhibited here a conflict between a factional as opposed to a national point of view. At times these two standpoints may become one. This is frequently the case with the larger economic groups. There is a certain amount of validity in the statement that what is good for business is good for the country. Similarly, in the best interests of agriculture and of labor lies much of the nation's prosperity. On the other hand, these three great groups are frequently found warring among themselves for ascendancy. It can hardly be expected to find associations composed of the members of one vocational or economic group greatly concerned with the welfare of other and antagonistic factions. It is to Congress that the voter must look for national representation. Often he may look in vain. Powerful organized groups sometimes succeed in securing representation there.

When these national associations remain within their sphere and do not attempt to coerce Congress, there can be no legitimate objection raised to the representation of group interests before the government. The objection is not to the groups themselves,² but

² Concerning associations formed for some public or quasi-public end, William McDougall (*The group mind*, 127) says:

"Such groups are the cradle of the representative principle and the training ground of the democratic spirit, especially of its deliberative and executive faculties. In them each member, taking part in the election of the com-

rather to the methods that are pursued by some of them. There is the formal legally constituted system of government to speak for the whole people. The national associations present another side of the individual's interests that are every bit as vital as the duties of citizenship. The government has established so many points of contact with business, industry, labor, agriculture, commerce and transportation that the federal authorities deal with individuals not merely as citizens and voters but as farmers, manufacturers, shippers and workmen as well. There is every reason why the voter should have his spokesmen in these interests. The effect of organized groups regarded from this point of view is to make the representative system more comprehensive, more efficient and flexible, in short, more representative.

Attitude of Congressmen.³ Congressmen themselves regard these national associations as valuable in enabling them to arrive at a clearer understanding of the facts concerning the opinion and the interests of a specific group. Where an association represents a recognizable and clearly defined membership, it is welcomed. If the Washington lobbyist can speak authoritatively for a given number of voters upon a definite issue, the legislators find it easier to arrive at some conclusion as to what the people want. The facts presented and the consensus of opinion stated by the spokesmen of a national association are listened to with attention and given full consideration by congressmen. Such statements are regarded as helpful and valuable. Leaders in the House and Senate representing many different points of view admit that this is true.⁴

mittee, delegates to them his share of authority, but continues to exert control over them by his vote upon reports of the committee and in the periodic reelection of its members. On this ground the citizens are trained to understand the working of the representative principle; to yield to the opinion of the majority on the choice of means, without ceasing loyally to cooperate towards the common end; to observe the necessary rules of procedure; to abide by group decisions; to influence public opinion in debate and in turn to be influenced by it and respect it; to differ without enmity; to keep the common end in view, in spite of the inevitable working of private and personal motives; to understand the necessity for delegation, and to respect the organization through which alone the group raises itself above the level of the crowd."

³ The concensus of a series of interviews with Senators Smoot, Curtis, Bruce, Borah, and Walsh, and with Representatives Garner, Green, and Rainey.

⁴ See Appendix I.

All of them, however, become explosive over the great number of associations in the capital which do not represent a definite group of voters and which are not in a position to speak authoritatively. The mildest of the terms applied to such lobbies was the epithet, "pest." Much more picturesque language was used by several very eminent members of Congress. A Representative from Texas likened some of the national associations to the coyote, an animal that has the ability to howl in divers keys and discords so that the listener is unable to tell whether it is one coyote or a dozen of them barking. So with some of the lobbies in the capital, it is not always easy to tell when they represent a substantial element of the people and when they speak for a handful of agitators. They seldom get the benefit of the doubt. The congressman views with suspicion all organized groups that do not indicate in unmistakable terms who they are and what they want. The groups concerned with the "state of the union" or with fantastic reforms and nebulous causes are not thought "worth the powder and shot to blow them up."

In committee hearings, congressmen are very insistent to learn the nature of the organization the lobbyist represents, the composition of the membership, and the methods used in adopting policies. The nearer the association approaches the state of being an authentic and reputable spokesman for an apparent class, industry, profession or well-defined social group, the more does Congress attend. The evidence from such a source may be biased, but it is regarded by the legislators much as a judge regards the brief presented by a lawyer in court. The lobbyists of the present day appear before a congressional committee and present their side of the case. The testimony of lobbyists from reputable organizations with records for honesty and integrity, is given due consideration. In the same way, many senators and representatives file away the data received through the mail from the lobbies, because of its factual or informative value.

To the congressman, who is not easily swayed by propaganda or by letters from his constituents sent at the behest of a lobby, the national associations are of assistance for the information they supply and the expression of opinion they present. To the timid member of Congress, who fears the power of an organized minority working among his constituents and trembles lest

the lobby turn to his home district and use propaganda against him, the national associations are very dangerous indeed. It takes a man of courage to defy a powerful minority with great financial resources at command and all the weapons of publicity ready for instant use. Many an able public servant has been defeated because of his opposition to such a group. A strong man can make the lobbies his servant. To the weak man they are a menace. Also be it remembered that timidity is the most common vice of elected public servants. Many of the organized groups are possessed of the power to threaten the serenity and safety of a congressman's political life, and there is the ever present danger of their making a legislator neglect his duty to the general welfare in order to mollify the demands of an aggressive minority. The place of national associations in this government cannot in all fairness be either damned or extolled. Some abuse their power, some are a distinct aid, some others, having no power, attempt to deceive their members and Congress.

Of more practical importance than the general effects of the national associations upon government is the degree of actual success attained by their lobbies. What of the actual effectiveness of the work of the organized group?

The Effectiveness of the Lobby. At the outset it is necessary to eliminate a large proportion of these national associations as not being particularly important or powerful. It is estimated that there are between sixty and one hundred that are consistently effective.⁵ The hundreds remaining may be ruled out as not significant. Some of them may prove useful to their supporters on occasion, but more often than not they are mere parasites. Even so, it is only fair to say that they have a certain potential strength that may be exerted if any real danger threatens their group. Most of the strong organizations with headquarters in Washington have either been described or referred to in the preceding chapters. With a very few exceptions and possibly a few more specific additions of important trade associations, the agencies of power and influence have all been mentioned. Taking these, then, as examples

⁵ Frank R. Kent (*Great game of politics*, 259) placed the number at sixty in 1923, but the number has increased since that time and is now probably nearer one hundred.

of the effective agency acting as a modern lobby, it is clear that the prerequisites for success depend first, upon a membership sufficiently interested and loyal to contribute financially, and secondly, willingness to coöperate with the managers to the extent of writing letters to congressmen when requested. If the individual will help to this degree, the lobbyist in Washington is ready to guarantee almost any result. If he fails to carry out his promises, he is equally ready to collect other funds and begin all over again. If the bill the group is sponsoring is passed by Congress, the legislative agent will generously attribute its passage to his supporters and to his own good efforts. If it fails, there is always a group taking the opposite side that may be made to bear the blame. The process of law-making is so complex and the evidence so intangible that it is impossible to make a very accurate analysis, but those who watch the process "can say with the greatest confidence that the special and unofficial bodies operating at Washington are in good measure responsible for much that becomes law."⁶

There have been of late years some outstanding victories for the new Washington lobbies that by well-nigh unanimous consent have been acknowledged as largely due to the activities of organized groups arousing public opinion and bringing pressure to bear on legislation.⁷ In this category are placed the suffrage and prohibition amendments, the soldiers' bonus bill, the Adamson Act, the world court protocol, the establishment of the Department of Labor, the Senate resolution of the last Congress favoring arbitration of the oil and alien land controversy with Mexico, and likewise the McNary-Haugen farm relief bill that was passed by both Houses of Congress. Despite this list of accomplishment, of which the above are only the most conspicuous examples, there are some who assert that these are mere specious victories.⁸ They point out that prohibition was forced upon the country before public opinion was ready for it, that the soldiers actually got life insurance rather than a bonus, that the world court protocol is meaningless because of the reservations, and that Congress passed the farm relief measure knowing that the President would veto it. In other words,

⁶ Fred De Witt Shelton, *Unofficial representation at Washington, Independent*, January 2, 1926, CXVI, 17-18.

⁷ See opinion of Representative Charles L. Underhill, p. 271, and that of Representative Fletcher Hale, p. 272.

the only bills these organizations supported that amounted to anything were the bills that Congress in its wisdom would have passed anyway. The measures forced through by these special interest groups for selfish ends have turned out to be mere "sops" in the final analysis. There are certainly examples in the instances just cited that bear testimony to the assertion. To some keen observers it appears that Congress, faced with organized agitation that threatens the political safety of senators or representatives, gives in when forced to do so. At the same time, matters are arranged in such a way within the party that the bill will be vetoed by the President or nullified in its effect by some subtle amendatory paragraph. Congressmen are often rendered helpless by the "back-fires" started by these agencies among the legislator's constituency. Nevertheless, through indirect means Congress not infrequently will defeat, or at least temporarily allay, the agitation. Moreover, upon highly controversial matters the advocates of one side may be played off against the supporters of the opposite point of view. In questions that seem to affect the groups requesting governmental action and no other interests, the legislative agents are usually successful in gaining their point. In such a case the chief virtue is persistence.

These national associations, however, do not exist *in vacuo*. As to their effects upon government and their effectiveness in carrying out their program, they must be considered in relation to other institutions. The political party is the great extra-legal agency for putting policies into effect and for conducting the government. It cannot be ignored in considering the effectiveness of the modern lobby.

In the United States parties occupy a place of peculiar importance. Because of the extent to which the doctrine of the separation of powers has been accepted and because of the extreme decentralization of authority, some unifying agency is necessary. This the party supplies. It is the tie that binds the legislative and the executive branches together in a coherent course of action. It is the party that is held responsible for the conduct of government. It is the agency controlling the formal institutions of government. Moreover, the party plays an important rôle as a nationalizing force, creating national opinions and judgments as opposed to fostering class or sectional feelings. It can hardly be longer considered an

unofficial organ functioning outside of government. For most practical intents and purposes, when the function of the American political party is considered, it is evident that it is an essential and an integral part of the governmental structure. It is the medium through which the government is administered. Candidates are nominated, elected, and to a large extent controlled through the political party.⁸

Consequently, when national associations desire certain legislative action and attempt to bring this about through a lobby they immediately encounter the political party, which is the medium through which laws are made and most policies brought into effect. In their work at Washington it is the political party as it controls the procedure of Congress that the lobbyists encounter.

The Procedure of Congress and the Lobby. Behind all the formal rules of procedure and the structure of the Congress as outlined in the Constitution, are the party caucuses of the House of Representatives and of the Senate, the organizations in which lie the ultimate authority and dominant influence in legislation. Composed of all the members of the majority party is good standing, the caucus is entirely extra-legal in its development and function, but its concern with actual law-making is very real indeed. It is the caucus that selects the leaders, that agrees upon policies and legislative measures, that designates the members to be elected to the standing committees, that controls and supervises the reports of important committees, and actually shapes the "detailed provisions of the most important legislative measures."⁹

Besides the party caucus of the majority party in the House and in the Senate, the minority party likewise has a caucus in both houses. Where the organized group is able to enlist the support of the caucus of the majority party, the success of its bill is practically assured. On the other hand if the caucus is opposed to the bill its chances of passage are almost non-existent. The caucus disciplines the members of the party, and any deviation from the policies as determined by the party is punishable. If an organized

⁸ Frank J. Goodnow, *Politics and administration*, one of the most thoughtful interpretations of this aspect of the party.

⁹ Frederic A. Ogg and P. Orman Ray, *Introduction to American government*, 375.

group brings pressure to bear on a congressman and threatens to defeat him at the polls unless he supports its measure, he may well hesitate to do their bidding if the measure is opposed by the party caucus. A powerful group acting as the representative of an influential body of citizens often has the support of the dominant party. For instance, the desires of business and the policies of the Republican party have frequently been noted to be identical by some observers. Every lobby with a bill to push through Congress is forced to take into account the attitude of the majority party and to win its support if possible. In considering the effectiveness of the organized group working through their lobby, the standpoint of the dominant party is of first importance.

During the first part of a session of Congress the many bills that are presented go through the routine procedure. On most questions the party has no fixed policy. The committees are allowed to exercise their own judgment.

It is before these congressional committees that the present-day lobbyist has his opportunity. The chief duty of the committee is to eliminate the great majority of the many bills referred to them. Accordingly, of the huge number of bills introduced, only a small percentage are ever reported back to the House. Those in which there seems to be no particular interest die an early death. It is the duty of the legislative agent to see that his bills are not included among these casualties. To save his bill from discard he stirs up interest, or at least artificial agitation, by the many methods referred to in preceding chapters. He appears at the hearings and brings troops of witnesses with him. If he is intelligent and plays his cards well, he gets his bill reported back to the House. The fact that in Congress the committees do most of the legislative work, makes the presence of the legislative agent significant and influential. With the exception of the party measures already referred to, the party leaders leave to the various committees great freedom of action concerning other bills. It is possible for the majority party, with majority support in the House, to take a bill out of the hands of a committee, but this is almost never done.¹⁰ In most measures with which the committees are concerned, parti-

¹⁰ Paul DeWitt Hasbrouck, *Party government in the House of Representatives*, 63.

san considerations have little weight. The lobbyist is thus left to try his machinations upon the committeemen, unhindered by the fear of coming into conflict with party policy. Since most of the committees are comparatively small (the membership ranges from two to thirty-six) the legislative agent can concentrate his attention upon the individual members. Besides supplying reams of statistics and other data, social wiles and a little intensive work in a congressman's home district may also be tried. It has been found that with the exception of the Committee on Rules and the Ways and Means Committee, the members of congressional committees, while conscious of their party affiliation and in fact holding their positions on the committee because of their faithfulness to party principle, nevertheless, vote in committee upon a given measure according to its "effect upon their own district, state, or section."¹¹ This tendency, of course, plays into the hands of the lobbyist. With the great mass of business that Congress is called upon to handle, if confidence were not put in the reports of the committees little legislation would be passed. On matters which are not highly controversial or counter to the political program of the party, the legislative agent, working with a few friendly congressmen and handling the testimony properly before the committees, can get his measures approved in many cases. It is in committee, then, that the agent exerts his best efforts.¹²

It appears that the House is depending more and more upon the judgment of its committees in legislative matters. In the Sixty-fifth Congress, 52 per cent of all committee reports were acted upon, the percentage steadily increasing until in the Sixty-ninth Congress 91 per cent was reached. Some committees are allowed practically to legislate, their reports receiving almost uniform endorsement from the House.¹³ It is obvious what such a tendency means to the organized agency interested in promoting legislation.

To get a bill reported favorably by the committee means that well-nigh half the battle is won. There still remains the task of bringing it to a vote on the floor. The consideration of bills before

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 63.

¹² This committee work, however, must be combined with the work of keeping the membership informed and ready to write to congressmen should need arise.

¹³ Hasbrouck, 74-75, for further discussion and proof.

Congress is so bound about with rules that important party measures usually are brought up under a suspension of the regular procedure. Special consent of the Committee on Rules is required in order to bring up a bill out of turn. The bills that pass through the legislative mill in routine form are those that are put through by common consent, such as bridge bills, or those that are included with others in some omnibus bill, such as private pension bills. Accordingly, the lobby that wishes to push through a bill must win over the Committee on Rules. This committee is controlled by the dominant party. Here again, it is seen that a lobby is helpless in the face of determined opposition on the part of the leaders of the controlling party. However, with the exception of the administration measures, the party adopts no position with regard to most of the bills. Even the attitude taken on party measures is not clearly defined until public sentiment has started to crystallize. The lobbies do all they can to guide public sentiment in their favor before the party takes a definite stand.

Where the agitation is so general that it cannot be ignored, the party leaders, by agreement among themselves, may give in at one point and arrange to defeat the proposed measure at some other point. Then again, the lobbies, by persistent agitation and by building up public sentiment through skillful propaganda tactics, may win over the leaders themselves in some cases. In the final analysis, the effectiveness of the Washington lobbies depends upon the resources and determination of the organized group on the one hand and the attitude of the leaders of the majority party on the other."

"It may be asked, whether these organizations will enter into the contest for control of the political parties. This makes little difference in the long run. If they undertake to influence party action directly, they will make a material impression, and will modify the results hitherto obtained. They will insure more democratic control of the parties, and will jeopardize the position of the oligarchies which have often controlled the party struggles. Whether they confine their efforts to the election, or the lobby, or the courts, or the referendum, or the influencing of public opinion, the new groups will be felt in this field. In either case they will tend to check the power of the small groups of politico-industrial magnates so mighty in the party system of the past half-century. It is quite evident it is far easier for the trust and the boss to plow their way through an unorganized community than to advance over a territory covered with a network of powerful counter-organizations, compactly constructed and well financed and led.

"The organizing tendency in almost all occupations and the democratizing tendency especially evident in large scale industry seems likely to check

At the very point where it might militate against the public interest, the national association is checked by another force, the political party, which theoretically and often in practice works for the national good rather than the welfare of a small special minority. The organized group designed to represent the interests of a specific faction, is counteracted by the political party intended to carry into effect the desires of a great cross section of the people. The combination is salutary. On the one hand, accurate representation of the welfare of definite groups by experts is to be had; and on the other is an almost non-principled administrative institution, concerned with satisfying the people by policies and candidates that please the majority.

If one party fails to hold the favor of the people, it incurs the danger of being displaced from power by the rival party. It is by means of the two-party system that the voter is provided with a medium through which he may protest against the administration of a party that places the interest of a group before the welfare of the nation. At the same time the national association provides the means by which groups of people, with legitimate interests that should be represented, may voice their opinions and protect themselves. The fact that there are grossly selfish and even corruptly predatory "combines" does not render less valid the many legitimate associations.

The groups in this country are reasonably successful in accomplishing their ends through the lobby. They all fear launching into partisan politics as a minority party. Since the government of this country is based upon the two-party form and leaves no official way for blocs or multiple parties to participate directly in government, the national associations are forced to resort to extra-legal means in order to make their influence felt. The parties have practically no distinctive principles; the groups are founded on principle. The former administer the government, the latter formulate

the power of the few in the party as in the government. If these groups care to enter into the parties, they will vitalize and strengthen them. If they care to remain out of the contest for party control they will weaken the hold of parties upon the public and diminish the importance of the party in the process of political and social control. In either case they will no longer leave the field of organizations to the makers of political machines and their allies."—Charles E. Merriam, *American party system*, 428.

opinion and urge the parties to put it into effect. The organized groups, to do this, must largely depend upon their lobby.

Regulation of the Lobby. The lobby has always been and still is a much maligned institution. There is nothing that will so arouse the ire of a congressman as an accusation that he is or ever has been influenced through the machinations of the lobby. The reaction is according to a fixed behavior-pattern, automatic and frequently profane. The truth or falsity of the accusation has nothing to do with the reaction. All agree that the lobby is an abomination and should be put down forthwith, but when it comes to defining a lobby and giving the word meaning and substance, difficulties arise. This has again been demonstrated in the first session of the Seventieth Congress.

Regulation of the lobby was attempted in 1913 during the extensive investigations that took place at that time,¹⁵ when former Senator Kenyon introduced a federal registration bill. It encountered opposition from the farm and labor groups, and these together with other lobbyists prevented the bill's coming to a final vote. In the Congresses following, Representative Griffin of New York and Senator Caraway of Arkansas introduced bills providing for lobbying regulation, but to little purpose. The press from time to time has commented on the activity of lobbies maintained to influence Congress on prohibition, farm, labor, and veteran-relief legislation; the railroads and the merchant marine; water power and oil-leasing legislation; packer legislation and the proposed dye embargo; the Cape Cod Canal, Muscle Shoals, and Boulder Dam; the proposed repeal of the estate tax; the alien property bill; the McFadden banking bill; the McNary-Haugen farm relief bill, and many other measures of first importance with which Congress has been faced since the close of the war.¹⁶

More attention has been given the question of lobbying in the Seventieth Congress than it has received for years past. The subject was brought to general attention by the activities of those opposing the federal estate tax before the Committee on Ways and Means. The dubious character of many of the witnesses, the ques-

¹⁵ See Chapter III.

¹⁶ "Regulation of congressional lobbies," by Richard Boeckel in Editorial Research Reports, is a concise and timely discussion of the entire question.

tionable organizations that appeared, and the reluctance on the part of some of the lobbyists to answer all the questions put to them, aroused the suspicions of the committeemen. It was charged that a powerful lobby was busy and that large sums of money were being spent. An investigation was threatened.

Accordingly, when Congress met, three bills were introduced in the House of Representatives and several measures in the Senate.¹⁷ The House bills were not reported out of committee,

¹⁷ The bills introduced in the Seventieth Congress, first session, were as follows:

In the House: December 5, 1927, by Mr. Griffin, of New York: A bill (H. R. 423) to define and regulate lobbying; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

December 7, 1927, by Mr. Schafer, of Wisconsin: A bill (H. R. 6098) to disclose interest of and to regulate lobbyists who attempt to procure the passage or defeat of any measure before the Congress of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

December 13, 1927, by Mr. Browne, of Wisconsin: A bill (H. R. 7202) to prohibit lobbying; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

In the Senate: December 9, 1927, by Mr. Caraway, of Arkansas: A bill (S. 1095) to require registration of lobbyists, and for other purposes.

December 9, 1927, by Mr. Hawes, of Missouri: A bill (S. 826) to prohibit the acceptance of certain contributions for the purpose of influencing Congress as to legislation or other matters; to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Resolutions: Senate Resolution 145 to amend rules introduced February 14, 1928, by Mr. Walsh, of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That the standing rules of the Senate be, and they are hereby, amended by adding a new rule, as follows:

RULE XLI. REGULATION AND REGISTRATION OF LEGISLATIVE COUNSEL OR AGENTS

All persons employed for hire as attorney or agents to represent individuals, partnerships, societies, corporations, or foreign governments, to advocate or oppose pending legislation, shall register the fact of such employment, a statement of the particular legislation, and the name of their employer with the Secretary of the Senate before engaging in such employment.

Upon motion of any Member of the Senate, supported by a majority vote, any designated employee may be summoned to appear before the Committee on Rules and required to give the names of all persons for whom he is employed, or if an employer, the names of those who were employed by him to influence legislation during the current session of Congress and an account of all expenditures incurred or promised for the purpose.

The chairmen of the committees shall require all persons appearing before them to advocate or oppose pending legislation to state whether they are employed for the purpose, and if so, by whom employed. A list of employers

and with one exception the measures taken in the Senate shared a fate no better. Still, public attention was attracted to the situation and considerable discussion took place. One bill seemed for a time on a fair way to passing, and its sponsor entertained high hopes of its success. This was S. 1095 introduced December 9, 1927, by Senator Caraway of Arkansas.

The bill was considered by the Committee on the Judiciary and reported back favorably with but slight amendments on February 21. The committee report called attention to the fact that there are good lobbyists and bad ; that there are representatives

so disclosed shall be kept by the committee, and upon motion of any member any designated employer shall be summoned before the committee and required to give the names of all persons employed by him to influence legislation during the current session of Congress, and an account of all expenditures incurred or promised for the purpose.

House joint resolution 227, introduced March 5, 1928.

By Mr. Howard, of Nebraska: Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 227) prohibiting any ex-members of the United States Senate or House of Representatives from engaging in the practice of lobbying, for money or other emolument, before any committee of either House of the Congress, or upon the floor of either House, or in any part of the Capitol, or in the Senate Office Building, or in the House Office Building, within the term of two years following the date when any such person shall have served as a Member of the Senate or the House of Representatives of the United States, and providing penalties for violation of this act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Senate resolution 197, introduced April 16, 1928, by Mr. Caraway.

WHEREAS, It is charged that the lobbyists in and around Washington filch from the American public more money under a false claim that they can influence legislation than the legislative branch of this Government costs the taxpayers; and

WHEREAS, The lobbyists seek by all means to capitalize for themselves every interest and every sentiment of the American public which can be made to yield an unclean dollar for their greedy pockets: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, (1) That a special committee to be appointed by the President of the Senate consisting of three members is hereby authorized.

(2) Said committee is empowered and instructed to inquire into the activities of these lobbying associations and lobbyists.

(3) To ascertain of what their activities consist, how much, and from what source they obtain their revenues.

(4) How much of these moneys they expend and for what purpose and in what manner.

(5) What effort they put forth to affect legislation.

(6) Said committee shall have the power to subpoena witnesses, administer oaths, send for books and papers, to employ a stenographer, and do those things necessary to make the investigation thorough.

of associations with headquarters at Washington who are interested in the betterment of the membership and not merely in the betterment of the financial status of the officers. It emphasised chiefly the great number of "fake" organizations that operate at the capital merely for the profit of their promoters and that are utterly without influence.

These associations include fake agricultural associations, fake scientific associations, fake religious associations, fake temperance associations, fake associations in opposition to prohibition, and, in fact, nearly every activity of the human mind has been capitalized by some grafter with "headquarters" established for this activity in Washington. The only activity in fact engaged in is to extract money from credulous people and put it into their own pockets.

* * * *

It is not to be understood there are not associations representing the interest of farming, of temperance, and of education and other activities, but the fake associations so far outnumber those who are actually engaged in a legitimate effort to impart information that attention should be called to the situation.

The report then goes on to mention by name some of the numerous associations representing a wide variety of interests, and concludes by commenting upon the folly of those people who are willing to employ a defeated congressman to use his influence in their behalf. This report was received in the Senate without comment, and the bill was placed on the calendar.

When the measure came before the Senate for a vote, it was first considered in Committee of the Whole, and a lively debate ensued. It was passed by this body without a record vote on March 2, and sent to the House, where it lay buried in committee until the adjournment of the session.

As defined in the bill a lobbyist is "one who shall engage, for pay, to attempt to influence legislation, or to prevent legislation, by the National Congress." Lobbying, as understood by this same act, "shall consist of any effort in influencing the action of Congress upon any matter coming before it, whether it be by distributing literature, appearing before committees of Congress, or interviewing or seeking to interview individual members of either House of Representatives or the Senate." These terms are

certainly inclusive in scope, and did in fact occasion some discussion in the Senate as to just where the line of regulation should be drawn. Said Senator Bruce,

Language ought to be employed that would discriminate between somebody who is paid especially for the purpose of coming down here and looking after legislation pending in Congress, and the secretary of some charitable association, for instance, who comes here merely as an incident of his general duties.

Such a distinction between lobbyists was objected to by Senator Walsh: "No effective lobby act can be expected unless provision is made to include under the provisions of the act all who receive yearly salaries and who appear in favor of or against legislation."

But, the objection is made, does not this bill impinge upon the right of petition? Queried Senator George, "Does the bill define as a lobbyist one who appears for himself because of his interest in legislation?"

Senator Caraway summed up the case for his bill thus: "I have not the remotest idea that any court would say that it would curtail the right of petition, representation, and direct appeal to Members of Congress. It only applies to that class of people who make a profession of influencing legislation or who have for the time being the occupation for hire of influencing legislation."

Senator Bruce, however, still felt that the bill did not clearly enough discriminate between legitimate propaganda and lobbying, and several other Senators called for light on this same point. Just who would be liable under the terms of this bill? The question was not lucidly answered, and the bill passed the Senate only when it became clear that it was this bill or nothing.¹⁸

From the definition of lobbyists and lobbying as set forth in the measure the bill has been interpreted by some as including not merely the activities of professional lobbyists, but also those of "members of the President's cabinet, officers of the Army and Navy, and other governmental officials who attempt to influence the action of Congress upon legislation affecting their branches of the governmental service."¹⁹ One press criticism is

¹⁸ For this debate, see Congressional Record, March 2, 1928, pp. 4043-46.

¹⁹ Richard Boeckel, *op. cit.*, 3.

to the effect that the bill fails to "distinguish between the sheep and the wolves."

The New York Times commented on the terms of the bill and the definition of lobbyists:

What about the Congressmen themselves? Aren't they paid to influence legislation, and don't they spend much of their time "interviewing or seeking to interview individual members" in behalf of the bills they are especially interested in?²⁰

The Helena Independent, for one, is not so mildly derogatory; it protests fiercely:

As proposed, the bill to regulate lobbying is an impudent insult to the people of the United States. Such a proposal could only be indulged in by conceited members of the Senate, who believe their actions need no guidance; their information is complete without the advice or help of the men and women who pay the taxes. Under this bill it would appear that the people of Montana will not be permitted to write any more letters to Senator Walsh, giving him any advice or seeking in any way to influence his vote on pending legislation.

In attempting to regulate the lobby the inherent difficulty is finding some equitable rule which curbs the corrupt, the deceptive, and the predatory, and still leaves ample opportunity for the legitimate spokesman of a group to represent his organization unhampered by red tape. Even more important is it to allow the private citizen to have his say before congressional committees and before congressmen without being subjected to confusing regulations. To place obstacles in the way of the honest man does not prevent the thief from forcing his way through a rear entry. When delegations come up to Washington from Four Corners or Gopher Prairie at the present time, they are free to go before the authorities and relieve their minds of the thoughts that are troubling them. To subject all those to regulation who make "any effort to influence legislation or to prevent legislation by the National Congress" would be to punish the "interested citizen" as much as the professional lobbyist.

Many of the reputable legislative agents in the capital would welcome a lobby law. They feel that it would constitute official

²⁰ Press opinions, see *Literary Digest*, March 17, 1928, p. 11.

recognition and, by driving out the dishonest, make the position of the bona fide legislative representative at Washington more secure. Whether the provisions of Senator Caraway's bill would have this effect, is another question. The Senator believes that his bill would result in driving out the fake organizations, which he estimates constitute ninety per cent of the associations in Washington. This estimate is much too high; and in fairness to these groups it must be said that the writer has found the opinions of congressmen with regard to these lobbying organizations largely colored by the congressman's own political viewpoint and personal prejudices. Associations that would be regarded as fakes and frauds by one senator would not necessarily be so regarded by another. Several congressmen stated that the really effective and useful associations represented at Washington were a small percentage of the total present, but they were not unanimous in their opinion as to which were worth while and helpful.

The Caraway bill directs that all those engaging in lobbying shall register with the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate and "shall give to these officers his name, address, the person, association, or corporation by which he is employed, and in whose interest he appears as a lobbyist." He shall likewise state the interest he has in the defeat or passage of the legislation in question. A complete financial statement as to salary, present and prospective, and as to the amount expended and for what purposes is likewise to be filed. Monthly financial statements are to be made to these same officers, and all this information is to be published in the Congressional Record at regular intervals. The statements are to be made under oath, and penalties are provided for perjury or for failure to register.²¹

²¹ An Act to require registration of lobbyists, and for other purposes.
Be it enacted . . . etc.,

[SECTION 1.] That a lobbyist, within the meaning of this Act, is one who shall engage, for pay to attempt to influence legislation, or to prevent legislation, by the National Congress.

Second. Lobbying, as defined and understood in this Act, shall consist of any effort to influence the action of Congress upon any matter coming before it, whether it be by distributing literature, appearing before committees of Congress, or interviewing or seeking to interview individual Members of either the House of Representatives or the Senate.

SEC. 2. Any person, before he shall enter into and engage in lobbying as defined in this Act, shall register with the Clerk of the House of Repre-

Whether the periodical publication of this information in the Congressional Record would have the effect of driving many of these organizations out of existence, is highly problematical. It would not affect the bona fide organizations, and in the case of the fake associations, if their members are so stupid as to support them in the first place, it is difficult to understand how the publication of a collection of confused figures in the voluminous Congressional Record would prove very damning evidence. As federal lobby regulation has never had a trial, however, it is hardly judicious to indulge in hypothetical prognostications.

State Lobby Laws. Many of the states have had laws for years on their statute books regulating the lobbyist. Massachusetts passed

sentatives, and the Secretary of the Senate, and shall give to these officers his name, address, the person, association, or corporation by whom or by which he is employed, and in whose interest he appears as a lobbyist. He shall also disclose the interest he himself may have, or those whom he represents, in the proposed legislation, or for the defeat of legislation. He shall likewise state how much he has been paid, and is to receive, and by whom he is paid, or is to be paid, and how much he shall be allowed for expenses incident to his employment. The Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate shall within six days after any lobbyist shall have registered under the provisions of this Act file with their respective bodies and have printed in the Congressional Record the information required by this Act to be registered. And each month the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate shall likewise file with their respective bodies and have printed in the Congressional Record a copy of the financial report required by section 3 hereof.

SEC. 3. At the end of each month he shall file with the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives a report of moneys by him expended in carrying on his work as a lobbyist, to whom paid, and for what purpose, and give the names and date of any person or persons whom he has entertained as such lobbyist, and what the expense of this entertainment was.

SEC. 4. Reports required to be made shall be under oath, and he shall at the time he registers file a written authorization of his employment by the person by whom he is employed.

SEC. 5. Any person who may engage in lobbying without first complying with the provisions of this Act shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be fined not less than \$100 or not more than \$1000 and be imprisoned in a common jail for not less than one month nor more than twelve months or be both fined and imprisoned as aforesaid in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 6. Any lobbyist who shall make a false affidavit, where an affidavit is required in the provisions of this Act, shall be deemed guilty of perjury, and upon conviction shall be punished as provided by statute for such an offense.

SEC. 7. A new registration shall be necessary for each session of Congress.

a law in 1890 embodying the publicity principle which is illustrated in Mr. Caraway's bill and is likewise a feature in the lobby laws of sixteen other states. Most of these state statutes were passed in the period between 1906 and 1909, following the corruption exposed in the Armstrong insurance investigation in New York, when it was shown that insurance companies were active in other states in manipulating legislation in other matters besides insurance. "The failure of Congress to give serious consideration to the enactment of a federal lobby law until nearly twenty years later is generally attributed," writes one competent observer, "to the fact that lobby abuses at Washington have never been as flagrant as at many of the state capitals."²²

Thirty-two states now have some sort of legislation dealing with the lobbyist.²³ Wisconsin, Indiana, New York, and Ohio are mentioned as the states with the best laws on the subject. In the case of Wisconsin, the law is said to be effective; but this is not held true of Ohio or New York. The experience which the states have had with lobbying laws would hardly indicate, in the opinion of Mr. Pollock, that "the problem of regulating lobbying has been solved, or is even under reasonable control." In some cases the law is defective, but in many the fault lies in the non-enforcement. The typical state lobby law does not differ materially from the federal bill proposed by Senator Caraway. They have the requirement that the lobbyist register; that he file a financial statement as to expenses, etc.; and that the lobbying is not to be done with remuneration contingent upon the successful passage of the measure concerned. Some of the state laws provide stringent penalties but punishment under these statutes is rare. In April, 1928, the newspapers reported the indictment of twenty-three lobbyists under the Kentucky law. The incident is recorded as causing

²² Richard Boeckel, *op. cit.*, 23.

²³ James K. Pollock, Regulation of lobbying, *American Political Science Review*, XXI, 335-41, May, 1927.

The states having lobby laws are: Alabama, Arizona, California, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

"amazement" and "intense excitement."²⁴ In considering this entire matter of regulation the question, however, is not so much the feasibility of a lobby law as the framing of a law that will be fair and effective. All will agree that the legislative and executive branches of the government should be protected from corrupt influences. The courts have strict rules as to who shall practise before them. In similar fashion the other branches of government should have some control over those who attempt to influence them in their task of government. The large number of reputable associations that have established relations with the national government at Washington have nothing to hide from the government. A reasonable lobby law would be a protection to both parties concerned.²⁵ But the difficulty lies in working out a fair and effective measure.

Effect of National Associations Upon the Formation of Blocs in Congress. References have been made from time to time, in the course of this study, to members of Congress who are generally in agreement with the policies of a given group and who are ready and willing to coöperate with the association of these voters. It is the desire of the typical national association to procure in Congress a bloc of votes in order that it may be able to rely on some definite support. The bloc is the lobby's most powerful weapon. It is seldom indeed that this bloc of legislators can secure the balance of power in Congress, as did the famous farm bloc, but the fact that there is a group of supporters within Congress is always valuable to the association. The examples cited in the case of the "dry" forces and again in the case of the veterans, serve to illustrate how a number of congressmen, working with a strong national organization, can prove a powerful influence. These blocs are strong, and where the interests of their group are con-

²⁴ *Baltimore Evening Sun*, April 14, 1928.

²⁵ On this point a lobbyist is quoted as follows in an article appearing in the magazine section of the *Baltimore Sun*, May 6, 1928:

"I would welcome a law requiring the representatives of legitimate interests—I dislike the word lobbyist—to register and to state the clients for whom they appear. Responsible legislative agents in Washington lose caste because of the operations of a great many others whose sole interest is to collect salaries. The Government requires that an attorney be licensed to appear before the courts. Why should not some system of licensing be invoked for those who appear before the Government departments and Congress? I think it would raise standards all around."

cerned they are usually able to procure from Congress the legislation desired. To defeat them takes a counter-bloc representing a definite opposing interest. Where a special interest is involved, with none actively fighting on the other side of the question, it is rare indeed that so general a concept as the "public interest" is sufficient to defeat the measure. The public has no lobby. Indeed, the position taken by some defenders of the bloc is to the effect "that there is no such thing as the interest of the nation apart from the interests of localities, groups, and classes, and that the place to bring about the necessary reciprocity and equilibrium is in the open, on the floors of Congress."²² Here by a process of bartering and conniving, regardless of party lines, the nation's destiny will be determined. The lack of definite principles of party policy encourage this tendency. Moreover, the national associations, by giving active aid and support to their friends and by bitterly fighting the legislators disagreeing with their program, often either enroll a congressman in their bloc or threaten to prevent his reelection. In many cases they demand that he declare himself upon an issue, the result usually being that thenceforth he finds himself at least a possible member of the bloc supporting that particular measure. On the other hand, it is a rare occasion when a political party demands that the candidate come out with an unequivocal statement as to his opinion on a controversial issue. The bloc has been hailed as a peak of reality thrusting up on a level plain of shams.

The bloc is a vertical organization appearing in the field of politics which hitherto has been dominated by the horizontal organization of the parties.

A vertical organization, like everything vertical in this world, tends to rest upon the solid earth. It has its base in reality. The bloc introduces reality into public life. It will be represented by men who are not ashamed to stand frankly for the selfish interests of their group.

When we banished selfish interests from the government a few years ago we banished all interests—and even all interest, too—leaving very little but hypocrisy and timidity. The representatives of a group will not have to be all things to all men as our party men are, but one thing to one kind of men.

If we cannot get our present parties to stand for anything, if for the same reason we cannot form a new party to stand for any-

²² W. E. Walling, *American labor and American democracy*, I, 162.

thing, we can at least introduce principles into politics through the force of group support. Blocs will be positive, not merely negative as the parties have become. They do not have to please everybody. They can and must be constructive.

The clash of ideas which we miss between parties may take place between blocs.²⁷

Herein lies the strength of the blocs. The self-interest of a class or the enthusiasm of a reform group, by concentrating attention on one idea or one attainment, and then working through a bloc of legislators, accomplishes its aims bit by bit and bill by bill. Before such concentration and such specialization of interest, the casual voter and average citizen is powerless. A "general interest" in politics is no match for that of the fanatic who votes according to the stand of the candidate upon one issue. The aim of such a voter is to fill the halls of Congress with men who agree with him on one particular question. Whether a candidate is "wet" or "dry," is all that matters to the Anti-Saloon League. The candidate may be another Solon, but if he were "wet" his wisdom would help him not a wit. Shrewd politicians, by adopting the favorite issues of powerful groups, have succeeded in winning seats in Congress. Sincere men finding themselves in agreement with associations of organized voters have found their political path made easier. Both types of legislators go to make up the blocs that coöperate with minority groups on certain issues.

Does this mean that the country is faced with a government by blocs? This might be the result if the organized minorities had their way, but, as was pointed out earlier in this chapter, the political party must be taken into consideration. It is hardly conceivable that a bloc could procure control of the machinery of Congress over the protest of the party, though the party leaders might for a time be coerced into compliance. If, as has sometimes been charged, business interests control Congress, it will be noted that the business bloc is identified in such accusations with the majority party leaders. In other words, American blocs must work within the parties. They are forced to it. If they bolted they would create a minority party, than which there is nothing weaker in a two-party system. Even the farm bloc hesitated to defy party entirely. If a bloc is to get its legislation through, the

²⁷ "Behind the mirrors," 214.

passive consent and usually the active support of the majority party is necessary. This is a decided check on the freedom of a bloc.

In discussing blocs in Congress, their relation to the President must be considered. The Executive is independent. He owes his office to a national election in which the people decide between candidates put forward by two great parties. The vote of a bloc in the legislature has no effect on him. In France a handful of votes in the Chamber of Deputies might determine the executive. In this country the presidential veto may effectively check the measure of any bloc. When a bloc commands sufficient votes to override such a veto it can hardly be called a bloc. There is little comparison between the so-called blocs as they appear in Congress and European blocs. They are not adapted to a congressional form of government. An independent executive challenges their power. A two-party system checks their activity.

The territorial basis of representation likewise acts as a deterrent on the bloc. A "bloc congressman" can come only from some district where there is a preponderant farming population, or where labor is especially strong, or where some other group happens more or less by accident to dominate within a given arbitrary geographic division. Where there is not a clear majority of one class of citizens in a district or state, about the only other way in which a legislator can be made the member of a bloc is for some active minority through organized effort to persuade a congressman that it is his duty to represent the interests of that group. Economic and class interests spread over a community regardless of political subdivisions such as congressional districts. If, on the other hand, legislators were elected on an occupational or functional basis, there would be a clear unity of interest among those from certain economic groups. Bloc formation would be greatly encouraged. The diversity of economic and social life within a given territory tends perforce to make the interests of the representative from that region broader than if the same representative merely spoke for a certain economic group. This point is believed to be a valid one; namely, that one of the most effective checks upon the actual formation of blocs within Congress is the system of electing congressmen from geographic divisions.

Despite the above mentioned factors, blocs do nevertheless exist. How much worse the situation might be, is indicated by the disintegration into warring, bickering factions of certain European legislative bodies. The American system seems fortified against such a break-up.

The honestly representative national association furnishes a way whereby special interests of many different varieties may make their voice heard and protect themselves without actually being accorded a recognized place in the governmental process. The proper sphere, however, of these interested groups should be demarcated definitely. They are too powerful a political force to go uncontrolled and unlimited in any way. Within what bounds may they legitimately operate? Their function should be advisory, explanatory, informative.²⁸ Within their particular fields their

²⁸ The following interesting comment on this point fortunately came to hand just as the present work was going to press:

"The principle of economic and cultural group representation on a non-territorial and undemocratic basis of selection cannot be sanctioned, as we have seen, as a means of securing final representative control. But as a means of securing advice and restraint, might it not become a valuable adjunct to the legislative machinery? Would it help to preserve a co-organic relationship between the state and the great social groups which comprise it? In the modern state such groups are certain to make themselves felt. A proper federalization of authority might keep them from making themselves felt simply by threats to legislators, or against the community's public services, but would enable them to be heard where all might command equitable attention and fair play. This is the principle on which modern states are trying to turn lobbyists into advisers who must come into the open with their proposals. It is the kernel of the case for advisory economic councils and commissions. The experiment is as yet in its beginnings. But no modern legislature can perform its duties without expert advice to assist its committees.—W. Y. Elliott, *The pragmatic revolt in politics*, 481 (1928).

In this same connection Professor Elliott cites the following references:

For descriptions of the various devices of group representation in second chambers, see H. B. Lees-Smith, *Second Chambers in Theory and Practice*, with special reference to the Irish Free State.

For the literature on advisory economic parliaments, see the article of A. Bergsträsser in *Schmoller's Jahrbücher* (1925), "*Neuere Literatur zum Berufständischen Gedanke*." An excellent historical survey is given in Georg Bernhard's *Wirtschafts Parlamente* (Vienna and Leipzig), 1923.

For a strong case against advisory or other economic parliaments and in favor of Parliamentary Commissions of advisory aspects, see Mr. H. J. Laski, *A grammar of politics*, chapter on "Political Institutions," especially his use of the Report of the Machinery of Government Committee, and pp. 84-139, 349-352.

words should carry the authority of experts. They should be heard on all questions concerning their interests, but they should be forced to work in the full light of publicity. They should be democratic in organization and fully representative of a membership sharply defined. Then, the greatest opportunity should be given for this membership to make its influence felt through the spokesmen selected. But a line should be drawn. Coercion of legislators should not be tolerated. Insidious propaganda methods should be prohibited. Quite a list of "should nots" might easily be compiled. The organized activity of associations in political campaigns might well be questioned. The disproportionate influence of organized effort in the community might be criticized. It is a mistake, however, to approach such a problem with the idea of imposing regulations and prohibitions. Coercion cannot be applied to the diverse interests of a great nation. As was pointed out in the first chapter, formal recognition of economic class interests and of functional and occupational groups has been accorded by the new constitutions in many of the European countries. The effort has been made not to check, regulate, or abolish this surge of influences welling from the special interest groups in the community, but rather to provide channels whereby it may find an outlet in turning more rapidly and effectively the wheels of government. It has been taken into the legislative mill and put to work. In this country there has been much fuming and vain endeavor to stem the tide of self interest as manifested by the activity of lobbies and blocs in Congress. 'Twere easier to dam Niagara. In this country occupational, professional, functional, social, patriotic, religious, business, and scientific groups have evolved a medium, albeit somewhat faulty, for making their influence felt in the councils of government.

With proper safeguards against abuse and deception, these associations promise well as a means of meeting the problems of representation that have arisen with the growing complexity of society. Communities are no longer homogeneous because of geographical

For an early estimate of the Provisional Economic Parliament in Germany, see H. Finer, *Representative Government and a Parliament of Industry* (1923).

For France, see Edith C. Bramhall, "The National Economic Council in France" (*Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, XX, No. 5, August, 1926).

For Italy, see Schneider, "Italy's New Syndicalist Constitution," *Political Science Quarterly*, XLIII, No. 2, June, 1927.

proximity. The advances in transportation and communication have brought about a new tie. Distance means little to-day. Yet the formal system of representative government under which we are operating was established at a time when men were forced by the mere fact of living together to have many interests in common. They were forced to be dependent on their immediate neighbors, and naturally their common interests were many. Now, however, industrialists, farmers, laborers, churchmen, or reformers all over the country can unite and discuss their common problems. From this association there is but one step to the desire on the part of the group to make its voice heard in the councils of government. The government has set up certain administrative and judicial tribunals to deal with these new interrelations of men that have resulted from easier communication, but the fact that men have interests in common other than those bred by living in the same vicinity has been ignored in the structure of the representative branch of the government. In the formal system of representation, we are still using the mode of the eighteenth century. With the decline of the political party as the leader in policy and opinion, it was not only compulsory but inevitable that some other medium of expression for the many diverse points of view and commercial and ideational interests should evolve. The national associations are the result.

They represent a healthy democratic development. They rose in answer to certain needs. They have been forced to take the political structure as they found it. Entirely extra-legal and non-constitutional, they have been much maligned and misunderstood. They are a part of our representative system, and yet due to their heritage from the old lobby they bear the taint of illegitimacy. There is no turning back. These groups must be welcomed for what they are, and certain precautionary regulations worked out. The groups must be understood and their place in government allotted, if not by actual legislation, then by general public realization of their significance.

APPENDIX I

SOME EXPRESSIONS OF CONGRESSIONAL OPINION

Representative Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio, Congressional Record, December 4, 1924:

"In nothing is there greater danger to the body politic than in the power of the persistent and well-organized groups to secure the enactment of measures which are contrary to the interests of the aggregate body of the citizenship. This is made possible by the fact that the united and vigorous support of a comparatively small number often seems to render more efficient aid to one seeking office than that of the inert and rarely roused majority who take less interest in public affairs. The present disposition to secure such advantage is manifested by the great mass of propaganda much of which is calculated to mislead rather than to give accurate information, by the fact that Washington is filled with organizations of lobbyists who seek to overawe Congress for such objects as special privilege or favors, bonuses, larger salaries, and matters of individual or local concern."

Representative Harry B. Hawes, of Missouri, Congressional Record, May 14, 1924:

"The propagandist is another evil. Some one presents a subject from his point of view. The other side of the question is not heard or discussed. Naturally defects and objections are glossed over and the main object of the bill is described in a satisfactory way.

"The propagandist proceeds to secure an indorsement and sends this indorsement to Congress, and in many cases, he accompanies it by a series of petitions advocating the passage or defeat of a bill.

"Not one in a thousand has ever read the bill or understands it. They are acting solely upon the representations made to them by the person who starts the propaganda. Usually behind this propaganda will be found some special interest.

"The average Congressman desires to hear from his constituents on any measure which may be before Congress if his constituents

have read the measure and understand it. He values such communications. They are of service to him. So are the arguments and briefs on any subject upon which he may vote, or the statement of a practical farmer, laborer, or business man.

"So when he is deluged by telegrams and letters which he knows originate in one central point and are merely copied by persons who have not read the bill and who do not understand it, he is placed in an embarrassing position.

"It is impossible for him to correspond with all the signers of these petitions. He can, if he has time and at great labor, send to all these petitioners copies of the hearings and records of the debates before Congress. But time will usually not permit this to be done.

"An organization which discusses a question and hears both sides, allowing an opportunity for proponents and opponents to be heard, which provides for the hearing of testimony, debates, and the same process of discussion provided by law in municipal, State and national organizations, might with some propriety after this kind of hearing and discussion address a candidate on the subject of securing his 'yes' or 'no' statement; but no organization which does not hear both sides discussed and does not proceed with the same care that the body in which the candidate votes has the right to attempt to dictate to him, especially where the decision has been arrived at hastily, unfairly, or without impartial hearing.

"Instead of advancing the cause of good government, no matter what the object may be, it would be an attack upon intelligent government.

"If these organizations would adopt a rule of printing their bill, setting a time for discussion, and inviting both sides to be heard, that in itself would be an improvement; but this is rarely done.

"In ninety-nine cases out of one hundred only one side is heard, or a resolution sprung at the eleventh hour in a convention, without discussion or hid away in a series of resolutions, is adopted, then made the basis of a demand upon a Congressman.

"The whole proceeding is unfair to the legislative body to which the candidate belongs; it is unfair to the public; and it is even unfair to the organization which has been hastily forced into a position which it does not understand."

Representative Charles L. Underhill, of Massachusetts. Speech before the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, May 21, 1925:

"These groups, as I said before, are well organized and through the medium of modern propaganda bring tremendous pressure to bear upon Congressmen from back home.

"It is hard to understand how some limited organizations can exercise such an influence upon Congress, particularly when their demands are so clearly antagonistic to national economic interests. The average office-holder knows that the majority of voters are neither vocal nor aggressive and that they do not possess long memories.

"The organized minorities keep up a persistent propaganda and can and do make things uncomfortable for the individual Congressman. They are persistent, vociferous and threatening. They delude the Congressman into a belief they are much more powerful than they really are.

"Of course it may be said that the politician should have more courage, but there is another phase of the situation which is overlooked. The thoughtless majority are not appreciative and a man in public life who does his duty is seldom rewarded for it, whereas, if he favors a particular class he is likely to have an energetic group fighting for him at the primaries and elections."

Representative Marvin Jones, of Texas. *Washington Post*, January 8, 1924:

"We are getting to be a government by groups and the victims of propaganda. Some old boy or some group will conceive an idea to save the country. He'll organize his little group and wire all over the United States, 'Wire or write your Congressman to do so and so.'

"Just now a great deal of propaganda is being used to further the Mellon scheme of tax reduction and a good many folks have been led to believe that it is the Mellon scheme or nothing. As a matter of fact, the entire country favors tax reduction.

"The member not only welcomes the views and wishes of his constituents, but is anxious to receive them. But form letters and telegrams that are sent at the request of some group or vested interest are of little value to anyone."

Representative Fletcher Hale of New Hampshire. Radio address, May 26, 1926, printed in Congressional Record May 29, 1926:

"There is no more essential principle on which to base congressional action than that it should contribute always to the national welfare as distinguished from the welfare of any particular group or groups of people, or of any particular section or sections of the country. It is true that there may be legislation, sectional or special in its character, yet necessary to the general welfare. The difficulty with us, most of us hundreds of miles away from companionable communion with those whom we represent, is to be able always to detect this distinction. There are here in Washington hundreds of agents of special groups of people who are in rather constant communication with Members of Congress, many of them paid, many of them voluntary, most of them sincere, some of them otherwise, but all intensely interested in effecting legislation for some particular group or some particular special interest. Similarly from all over the country, while you are attending to your own business, comes tons of communications from all sorts of interests, much of it in stereotyped form, much of it in real personal appeal.

"The voice speaking, whether personally or by mail or by wire, too often is that of selfishness, clamoring for special legislation which ordinarily may benefit the few and injure the many. Much of it demands that we regulate the business of all but its own. Oftentimes it resorts to threats to exert group action against our reelection if we fail to comply with its insistent demands. Usually it is not the cry of deliberate selfishness nor of willful misrepresentation, but more often it is a result of a failure to consider problems from the national standpoint of the welfare of the one hundred and eighteen million people of America. It is fortunate for you and for the country that it is physically impossible even to read all that comes to us, much less to digest it. Nevertheless, a large part of it makes a very considerable impression upon many Members of Congress. Much of it is good and should do so. Much of it is bad and ought not to do so. That of it which is bad and leaves its influence leads us to represent special elements rather than the great body of citizens. If it has its effect in legislation, rule by small minorities is the result, leading to governmental extravagance, and oppressive, oftentimes most injurious governmental

interference with honest industry. And quite as unproductive of enduring benefit have been the results of legislation procured or attempted to be procured by arraying a section or sections of the country against others which, when weighed for the country as a whole, retard our national progress and diminish our national prosperity. So general has this tendency become in the last decade, so many are the special groups and interests desiring to be served, that Federal legislation has come to be viewed as a panacea or cure-all for social and industrial ills of every description, resulting, as inevitably it must do because of certain failure to accomplish all that was anticipated, in destroying the efficiency of the Government and in disrespect for and intolerance of its established institutions. We have been engaged in a legislative debauch from which we must emerge clearheaded, capable, and determined to substitute legislative temperance and sanity for legislative license. . . .

“There is no Representative in Washington who does not welcome your well-considered opinion on matters of public import. But that we may not be misled into the dark and dangerous avenues of governmental folly, let your voice when it speaks be that not of one from the North, the South, the East, or the West; not of the rich nor of the poor, not of the weak nor of the strong, but that of an American citizen, having community of interest with all other American citizens, and desiring to translate this community of interest into community of political action in order that the general welfare may be supreme.”

Senator Charles S. Thomas, of Colorado. Congressional Record, February 2, 1921:

“We are divided racially, industrially, economically; the cement which binds the people of the States is disintegrating and disappearing in the jarring contention of conflicting interests—economic, political and social. This process will continue until Congress, recognizing this sinister situation, shall taboo all systems and species of Washington lobbyism. Left to itself, the evil will grow and the disintegration continue, with deplorable effects to the country. . . .

“A man cannot be a Senator or Representative and be true to himself and serve the people of the United States to the best of

his ability if he yields his judgment or conforms his action to the persuasive efforts of organized interests, political or otherwise; we must either be representatives or delegates. If we are here merely to record the will or the demand, if you please, of those interested in national legislation because seemingly formidable, we serve neither the country nor ourselves. We cease to be Representatives."

Representative Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois. Interview, The New York Times as quoted in the Literary Digest, March 17, 1923, p. 48:

"Is Congress the strong body it was years ago?"

"Yes and no," he answered. "It has strong men now, but in the olden days, when public life offered greater attractions and honors, perhaps the men stood for more. Certainly they stood for greater independence of thought. They were not swayed by propaganda as now. Forty years ago there was no propaganda; certainly no organized agencies and lobbyists. Bills then originated in committees and represented the mature thought of the members. Now they are written and forced through Congress by outside organizations. The Constitution meant what it says. Now it is a thing to be shot at, after the agitators and legislators cannot find any other way of getting what they want. . . .

"In the old days bills were few, most of them private pension bills. A man had an opportunity to study legislation and could vote intelligently. Now the lobbyist comes to you and says, 'We want this,' and generally he gets it. I ask you whether legislation of to-day is anything more than hodge-podge? Forty years ago it represented the mature thought of the members" (See also L. White Busbey, "Uncle Joe" Cannon, p. 270.)

The effects of these organized groups upon the governmental system is not alone decried by congressmen. The attitude of the Senators and Representatives quoted is reflected in the following editorial from the Philadelphia Public Ledger of May 21, 1924:

"There was a time when Congress could consider measures in interests of the national welfare. To-day men come to Congress with the collar of some minority welded about their necks.

"There are plenty of farm blocs, and bonus and labor Congressmen, but the national legislators who represent all America and who

are able to think and vote in terms of the national interest are few and far between. The Congress of United States has become a Congress of minorities.

"Selfish groups have found how easy it is for an organized minority to throw Congress into a cowardly panic. . . .

"For this situation the voter back home cannot escape the final responsibility. In bitter truth he deserves exactly the kind of Congress he has. If he is a farmer, he wants the government to help him. If he is a worker, he demands special consideration. The manufacturer seeks always to advance his own interests. The veteran wants a subsidy or a pension. A dozen groups try to send men to Congress who will keep group interest rather than national interest first."

APPENDIX 2

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTED AT WASHINGTON

A list of organizations having representatives in the capital is offered as illustrative of the great number and variety of interests that maintain spokesmen or support offices in Washington. This list is not a directory; it is not complete and possibly not free from errors. Every effort has been made to make it exhaustive and accurate, but the nature of the subject matter renders this an impossible task. So many of these organizations come and go that by the time a census is completed, it is already out of date. Then, too, some of the associations change their names, while others consolidate and lose their identity in larger leagues and federations. Is a list to include all the constituent members of such a body? The organizations that the writer has encountered in the course of this study which maintain offices at the capital, form the nucleus from which this compilation has grown; other names have been added from the Washington Telephone Directory, The World Almanac for 1927, and the Washington Directory. A valuable source of such material is a list published in 1926 by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce entitled "Commercial and Industrial Organizations of the United States, Domestic Commerce Series No. 5. A revised list is now in course of preparation. This is the most complete list of its kind, and the reader is referred to it for further information concerning national, interstate, state and local associations of a business or industrial nature. However, it does not include professional, educational, governmental, agricultural, and religious organizations. For these, "The Handbook of the Social Resources of the United States, published by the American Red Cross, is recommended, and also the "Handbook of the Churches" published annually at Baltimore. In examining this list it will be seen that the associations may be classified, with but few exceptions, according to the various divisions as outlined in Chapters V to XIII.

- American Agriculture Association
- American Association for the Advancement of Science
- American Association of Colleges
- American Association of Engineers
- American Association of Hospital Social Workers
- American Association of Joint Stock Land Banks
- American Association of Museums
- American Association of State Highway Officials
- American Association of University Women
- American Association to Promote the Teaching of Speech to the Deaf
- American Automobile Association
- American Bankers' Association
- American Battle Monuments Commission
- American Bible Society
- American Bottlers of Carbonated Beverages
- American Boys Pioneer Association
- American Chemical Society
- American Childrens' Aid Society
- American Civic Association
- American Civil Liberties Union
- American College Bureau
- American Colonization Society
- American Collar Manufacturers' Association
- American Constitutional Association
- American Council of Education
- American Council of Learned Societies
- American Dairy Federation
- American Drug Manufacturers' Association
- American Electric Railway Association
- American Electro-Chemical Society
- American Engineering Council
- American Equity Association
- American Face Brick Association
- American Farm Bureau Federation
- American Farm Economics Association
- American Federation of Arts
- American Federation of Express Workers
- American Federation of Labor
- American Federation of Organizations for the Hard of Hearing
- American Federation of Teachers
- American Fisheries Society
- American Floor Surfacing Association
- American Forestry Association
- American Foundation for Homeopathy
- American Fox Institute
- American Friends of Greece
- American Fruit Growers, Inc.
- American Genetic Association
- American Gold and Silver Institute
- American Government Society
- American Granite Association
- American Hardware Manufacturers' Association
- American Highway Educational Bureau
- American Historical Association
- American Home Economics Association
- American Hotel Association of the United States and Canada
- American Institute of Accountants
- American Institute of Architects
- American Institute of Banking
- American Institute of Coöperation
- American Institute of Meat Packers
- American Institute of Patentees
- American Iron and Steel Institute
- American Legion
- American Manufacturers' Export Association
- American Meteorological Society
- American Metric Association
- American Mining Congress
- American Motorists' Association
- American National Red Cross
- American Nature Association
- American Nurses Association
- American Order of the White Cross
- American Ornithologists' Union
- American Paperhangers and Painters
- American Patent Law Association
- American Peace Society
- American Pedestrian Protective Association
- American Press Association

- American Publishers' Conference
- American Railway Association
- American Realty Exchange
- American Remount Association
- American Road Builders' Association
- American Schools Association
- American Short Line Railway Association
- American Silver Producers' Association
- American Society of Certified Public Accountants
- American Society of International Law
- American Society of Mammalogists
- American Society of Naval Engineers
- American Society of Tropical Medicine
- American Steam Ship Association
- American Steel Foundries
- American Sugar Cane League of the U. S. A.
- American Taxpayers' League
- American Tree Association
- American Veneer Package Association
- American Veterans of Hellenic Descent
- American Wholesale Coal Association
- American Wholesale Grocers' Association
- American Women's Legion
- Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Supreme Council, 33d Degree
- Anti-Blue Party
- Anti-Saloon League of America
- Anti-Steel Trap League
- Army and Navy Union, U. S. A.
- Army Ordnance Association
- Associated Advertising Clubs of the World
- Associated Business Papers
- Associated General Contractors of America
- Associated Industries of Massachusetts
- Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, Inc.
- Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis
- Association for the Study of Negro Life and History
- Association in Support of National Prohibition
- Association of American Railroad Accounting Officers
- Association of Limb Manufacturers of America
- Association of Military Surgeons of the United States
- Association of Official Agricultural Chemists
- Association of Railway Executives
- Association Opposed to Blue Laws
- Asphalt Association
- Aztec Club of 1847
- Baptist Association
- Better Fabrics League of America
- Better Homes in America, Inc.
- Better Understanding Between Industry and Agriculture Association
- Bible Readers' League
- Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church
- Boxboard Manufacturers' Association
- Boy Scouts of America
- Brewers Association
- Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen (and the fifteen other railway brotherhoods)
- Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions
- Bureau of Commercial Economics
- Bureau of Railway Economics
- Bureau of Raw Materials for American Vegetable Oils and Fats Industries
- Bureau of Republic of Korea
- Business Women's Council
- Buyers' Discount Association.
- Cap Manufacturers' Credit Association
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
- Carnegie Institution of Washington
- Catholic Daughters of America
- Central Committee on Lumber Standards

- Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America
 Chartered Association of American Inventors
 Chemical Alliance, Inc.
 Christ Child Society
 Christian Endeavor Union
 Committee on Promotion of Temperance Legislation
 Constructive Credit Association
 Congress of Mothers and Parent Teachers' Association
 Corn Belt Meat Producers' Association
 Council of American Cotton Manufacturers
 Council of Jewish Women
 Council of National Defense
 Council of Social Agencies
 Council of Women for Home Missions
 Crop Protection Institute
 Crown Manufacturers Association
 Daughters of the King
 Disabled American Veterans of the World War
 Disabled Emergency Officers of the World War
 Dixie Freight Association
 Eastern Paperboard Manufacturers' Association
 Eastern Railroad Association
 Emergency Foreign Policy Association
 Emergency Wood Ship Builders' Association
 Employed Officers' Alliance
 English-Speaking Union
 Envelope Legislative Committee
 Excavating Contractors' Association
 Farmers' National Council
 Federal Automobile Association
 Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America
 Federated American Engineering Societies
 Federated Farm Women of America
 Federated Fruit Growers
 Federation for Child Study
 Fleet Reserve Association
 General Automobile Owners' Association
 General Commission of Army and Navy Chaplains
 General Conference of Seventh Day Adventists
 General Federation of Women's Clubs
 George Washington Memorial Association
 Girl Scouts of America
 Girl's Friendly Society in America
 Grain Dealers' National Association
 Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Tidewater Association
 Hardwood Lumbermen's Association
 Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society
 Horological Institute of America
 Humane Education Society
 Immigration Restriction League
 Ink Association
 Indian Rights Association
 Institute Fraternity, Medical Women of the American Institute of Homeopathy
 Institute for Government Research
 Institute of Carpet Manufacturers of America, Inc.
 Institute of Margarine Manufacturers
 Institute of Paint and Varnish Research
 Intercollegiate Prohibition Association
 International Accountants' Society
 International Association of Electric Workers
 International Association of Garment Manufacturers
 International Association of Machinists
 International Association of Master House Painters and Decorators of the United States and Canada
 International Association of Policewomen
 International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men
 International Chamber of Commerce
 International Congress of Architects

- International Federation of Catholic Alumni
- International Health Board
- International Kindergarten Union
- International Labor Office
- International New Thought Alliance
- International Order of Good Templars
- International Reform Federation
- International Transportation Association
- Interstate Business Men's Accident Association
- Interstate Cottonseed Crushers' Association
- Interstate Realty Association
- Investment Bankers' Association
- Joint Amnesty Committee
- Joint Committee for Modification of Prohibition Act
- Klu Klux Klan
- League for the Larger Life
- League of American Inventors
- League of American Pen Women
- League of Nations Non-Partisan Association
- Lee Highway Association
- Longevity Legion
- Lord's Day Alliance
- Louisiana Society of Washington
- Loyal Orange Institution
- Manufacturing Chemists' Association of the United States
- Maryland and Virginia Milk Producers' Association
- Masonic Service Association of the United States
- Medical Women's National Association
- Mercerizers' Association of America
- Merchants and Manufacturers' Association
- Middle West Foreign Trade Commission
- Military Order of the Cootie
- Military Order of the World War
- Millers' National Federation
- Moderation League
- Musicians' Protective Union
- National Academy of Sciences
- National Aeronautic Association of the United States of America
- National Alliance of Postal Employees
- National Association for Advancement of Colored People
- National Association for Constitutional Government
- National Association of Broadcasters
- National Association of Builders' Exchanges
- National Association of Certified Public Accountants
- National Association of Colored Women
- National Association of Credit Men
- National Association of the Deaf
- National Association of Deans of Women
- National Association of Dyers and Cleaners
- National Association of Letter Carriers
- National Association of Manufacturers
- National Association of Platoon Schools
- National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners
- National Association of Real Estate Boards
- National Association of Retail Druggists
- National Association of Rural Letter Carriers
- National Association of Retired Federal Employees
- National Association of Stationary Engineers
- National Association of Wage Earners
- National Association Opposed to Blue Laws
- National Automobile Chamber of Commerce
- National Automobile Salesmen's Association
- National Biographical Society
- National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practise
- National Board of Farm Organizations
- National Board of Union Women's Associations

- National Board of Wholesale Lumber Distributors
 National Boulder Dam Association
 National Brick Manufacturers' Association
 National Business and Professional Women's League
 National Canners' Association
 National Catholic Welfare Conference
 National Center American Art Activities
 National Center of Christ Healing and Service
 National Child Health Council
 National Civil Service Reform League
 National Coal Association
 National Committee for a Department of Education
 National Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief
 National Committee for Rejection of the 20th Amendment
 National Committee for Teaching Citizenship
 National Committee on Gas and Electric Service
 National Commission of Evangelism
 National Community Board
 National Cone Manufacturers' Association
 National Confectioners' Association
 National Conference of Catholic Charities
 National Conference of State Parks
 National Conference on Street and Highway Safety
 National Congress of Parents and Teachers
 National Consumers' League
 National Constructive League
 National Cooperation Milk Producers' Federation
 National Council for the Prevention of War
 National Council of American Cotton Manufacturers
 National Council of American Indians
 National Council of Catholic Men
 National Council of Catholic Women
 National Council of Farmers' Cooperative Marketing Associations
 National Crushed Stone Association
 National Drug Trade Conference
 National Duck Pin Bowling Congress
 National Editorial Association
 National Education Association
 National Electric Light Association
 National Erectors' Association
 National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs
 National Federation of Federal Employees
 National Federation of Post Office Clerks
 National Fertilizer Association
 National Florence Crittenden Mission
 National Forestry Association
 National Founders' Association
 National Genealogical Society
 National Geographic Society
 National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry
 National Health Institute
 National Historical Society
 National Home Study Council
 National Illiteracy Crusade
 National Industrial Conference Board
 National Industrial Council
 National League of Commission Merchants
 National League of Women Voters
 National League to Conserve Food Animals
 National Lime Association
 National Lumber Manufacturers' Association
 National Macaroni Manufacturers' Association
 National Merchant Marine Association
 National Merchants' Protective Association
 National Milk Producers' Federation
 National Mineral Water and Beverage Association
 National Negro Business League

- National News Association
- National Newspaper Cartoonists' Association
- National Park and Playground Association
- National Parks Association
- National Patriotic Council
- National Petroleum Association
- National Popular Government League
- National Poultry Institute
- National Presbyterian Church, Inc.
- National Preserves and Fruit Producers' Association
- National Preservers' Association
- National Publishers' Association
- National Radio Institute
- National Red Cross Nurses Association
- National Research Council
- National Retail Coal Merchants
- National Retail Dry Goods Association
- National Retail Lumber Dealers' Association
- National Rifle Association of America
- National Rivers and Harbors Congress
- National Sand and Gravel Association
- National Security League
- National Service Bureau for Public Utilities
- National Society for Humane Regulation of Vivisection
- National Society of Accredited Secretaries
- National Society of Children of the American Revolution
- National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution
- National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution
- National Spiritualists' Association
- National Syrup and Molasses Association
- National Temperance Bureau
- National Tuberculosis Association
- National Varnish Manufacturers' Association
- National Vigilance League of America
- National Voters' League
- National Utility Association
- National Welfare Foundation Association
- National Women's Christian Temperance Union
- National Women's Trade Union League
- National Woman's Party
- Navy League of the United States
- Navy Mutual Aid Association
- Patriotic Order of the Sons of America
- People's Legislative Service
- People's Reconstruction League
- Phillipine Press Bureau
- Physicians' Protective Association
- Plumb-Plan League
- Portland Cement Association
- Progressive Education Association
- Proprietary Association
- Quartermaster Association
- Radio League of America
- Radio Manufacturers' Association
- Railway Owners' Association
- Railway Accounting Officers' Association
- Railway Business Association
- Railway Mail Association
- Relief for Fatherless Children of Greece
- Reserve Officers' Association of the United States
- Russian Information Bureau
- Salvation Army
- Seattle Chamber of Commerce
- Selective Immigration Aid Society
- Sentinels of the Republic
- Service Star Legion
- Sheet Metal Workers' International Association
- Shenandoah National Park Association
- Shipowners' Association of the Pacific Coast
- Short Line Railway Association
- Smokeless Coal Operators' Association
- Sons of Veterans, United States of America

- Social Hygiene Society
- Society of American Indians
- Society of American Military Engineers
- Society of American Wars
- Society of the Army of Santiago de Cuba
- Society of Practical Psychology
- Society of Sponsors of the United States Navy
- Southern Commercial Congress
- Southern Coöperative League
- Southern Hardware Traffic Association
- Southern Industrial Education Society
- Southern Newspaper Publishers' Association
- Talc and Soapstone Producers' Association
- Tanners' Council of America
- Thomas Jefferson League
- Tobacco Merchants' Association of the United States
- Toilers of America
- Trade and Transportation Bureau
- United Institute of Industrial Research
- United Medicine Manufacturers of America
- United National Association of Post Office Clerks
- United Spanish War Veterans
- United States Air Force Association
- United States Beet Sugar Association
- United States Cavalry Association
- United States Field Artillery Association
- United States Flag Association
- United States Independent Telephone Association
- United States Infantry Association
- United States League of Local Building and Loan Associations
- United States Sugar Association
- United States Potash Producers' Association
- United Typothetæ of America
- Veterans of Foreign Wars
- Volunteers of America
- Wakefield National Memorial Association
- War Mothers' Memorial Association
- Western Petroleum Refiners' Association
- Wholesale Coal Dealers' Association
- Women's Auxiliary of the Railway Mail Association
- Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
- World Conference on Narcotic Education
- Young Men's Christian Association
- Young Women's Christian Association (National Board)
- Zionist Organization Union.

APPENDIX 3

MEMBERSHIP OF TYPICAL NATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

A statement of the membership of certain selected national associations is here included in order to give an idea of the numbers that make up such organizations. It will be seen that the totals range from millions in some cases to less than a score in others. In the absence of accurate qualitative tests these figures may prove suggestive, but this fact should be emphasized; namely, that the mere size of the membership is by no means a sure criterion as to the relative strength of the group. The conscious group solidarity and the unanimity of purpose with which the members support the program of their association is of far greater significance in estimating the power of any organization than is a mere census. For example, forty manufacturers of syrup representing the united purpose of all those interested in the manufacturing phase of this product, will have more influence when syrup is affected than will a much larger group attempting to speak for a million members on a matter that does not concern these members so closely as syrup affects the makers of this particular commodity. Moreover, the group solidarity becomes stronger and forces greater recognition when the interests of a particular group are threatened. A method of determining the degree of this group cohesiveness is yet to be discovered. In compiling this list the attempt has been made to select certain types of associations that are representative of their kind as well as to show the disparity of the membership totals that are to be found among the wide variety of associations in Washington. As some of these associations are not composed of individuals as members, but of local branches, unions, or societies it is not always possible to indicate the number of individuals connected with the national organization. In such cases the number of constituent bodies is given. The list is offered as in the nature of a composite picture wherein this data on a few typical associations is given as illustrative of many other organizations.

MEMBERSHIP OF ASSOCIATIONS

285

TRADE ASSOCIATIONS ¹

American Bottlers of Carbonated Beverages.....	2,000
American Cotton Manufacturers' Association.....	850
American Iron and Steel Institute.....	2,200
American Petroleum Institute.....	4,000
American Railway Association.....	573
Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America	21,238
National Coal Association.....	1,000
National Industrial Council.....	318
National Fertilizer Association.....	219
National Merchant Marine Association.....	150
National Sand and Gravel Association.....	200
National Syrup and Molasses Association.....	35
Railroad Owners' Association.....	25,000

AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS

American Agricultural Association.....	75
American Farm Bureau Federation	
County farm bureaus.....	1,810
Community units	15,000
Farm families	521,068
American Farm Congress.....	30,000
American Sugar Cane League of the United States of America	2,700
Apple Growers' Association.....	1,148
Burley Tobacco Growers' Coöperative Association.....	109,113
Dark Tobacco Growers' Coöperative Association.....	70,000
Milk Producers' Association.....	2,000
National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry	
Local Granges	8,000
Members	800,000
National Live Stock Producers' Association.....	280,000

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

American Federation of Labor	
Individual members	2,896,063
Local unions	29,128
City central bodies.....	792
Local department councils.....	753
National and international unions.....	107
State federations	49
Local trade and federal labor unions.....	373

¹ In the case of trade associations the membership is composed of business firms rather than of individuals.

286 GROUP REPRESENTATION BEFORE CONGRESS

Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees	101,300
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.....	125,000
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.....	88,000
Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America	125,000
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.....	188,000
Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees...	125,000
United National Association of Post Office Clerks....	43,000

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

American Association of Engineers.....	6,000
American Association of Industrial Physicians and Surgeons	275
American Association of Petroleum Geologists.....	2,000
American Bankers' Association.....	21,000
American Bar Association.....	27,000
American Chemical Society.....	15,119
American Economic Association.....	3,507
American Engineering Council.....	40,000
American Institute of Architects.....	3,250
American Medical Association.....	96,443

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

American Home Economics Association.....	88,005
American Nurses' Association.....	70,000
Daughters of the American Revolution, National Society	
Members-at-large	4,957
Chapter membership	162,486
General Federation of Womens' Clubs	
Federated clubs	14,000
International Association of Police Women.....	600
National League of American Pen Women.....	2,000
National League of Women Voters	
Local leagues in over two-thirds of congressional districts. Does not have list of individual members	
National Woman's Party.....	10,000
Women's International League.....	50,000

REFORM ORGANIZATIONS

American Civil Liberties Union.....	5,000
Anti-Blue Party of the United States of America.....	39

Anti-Saloon League of America

"Organizations in each state and the federation of the state organizations forms the national."

Association Against the Prohibition Amendment

"Thousands of men and women." Membership not definitely recorded.

Intercollegiate Prohibition Association

"Does not have at present individual local membership."

International Reform Federation.....	12,000
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National Child Labor Committee.....	11,000
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National Temperance Bureau

Federation of four temperance organizations, two of which have individual membership, but "the number in each is a matter of interest only to the membership and is not reported to the public."

NATIONALISTS AND INTERNATIONALISTS

American Legion	700,000
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Disabled American Veterans of the World War.....	24,869
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Disabled Emergency Officers of the World War.....	3,025
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English Speaking Union of the United States.....	17,202
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League of Nations Non-Partisan Association

Regular members	20,000
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Associate members	15,000
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Military Order of the World War.....	8,000
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National Council for Prevention of War

Member organizations	39
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Sentinels of the Republic.....	1,000
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United Spanish War Veterans.....	103,276
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United States Flag Association.....	50,000
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United States Air Force Association.....	25,000
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APPENDIX 4

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION UTILITIES INVESTIGATION: EXCERPTS FROM TESTIMONY

The Federal Trade Commission investigation of the activities of public utilities corporations was made after the completion of this study, but since the hearings were issued¹ just as this book was in its final stage of manufacture, it was deemed advisable to include some excerpts from the testimony, setting forth the propaganda methods of an organized group. These hearings provide a storehouse of data concerning the attitude of the power companies of this country in their relations to the public and in lesser degree to legislation. To demonstrate the richness of this source of information would require a separate study in itself.

(A) LOBBY ACTIVITIES

EXAMINATION OF MR. WALTER H. JOHNSON, BY HON. ROBERT E. HEALY, CHIEF COUNSEL²

Question. You are also a member of the public policy committee of the National Electric Light Association, are you not?

Answer. Correct.

Question. Which has a general supervision of the policies, the broad policies of that association?

Answer. Correct.

Question. When you discuss these legislative matters with the counsel, it is with the expectation, isn't it, that they will oppose these matters in the legislature?

Answer. Correct.

Question. And with the expectation that they will appear before the committees and speak against them?

Answer. Correct.

Question. That they will get friends to do the same thing?

Answer. Correct.

Question. That they will get people at home to urge the members of the legislature that they vote against the bills?

Answer. That will be done, too, by a circular we will send out from the committee. The committee itself will send out two or three times during a session a circular calling their attention to the various bills now before the legislature.

¹ 70 Cong., S. doc. 92.

² No. 3, pp. 312-13.

Question. And in that way the result is that the members of the legislature hear from back home quite often?

Answer. Correct.

Question. You don't go up and undertake to buttonhole the legislators?

Answer. No sir.

Question. Your method is to stir up the people back home to write the legislators?

Answer. That is correct.

Question. That is the way you have the pressure exerted on them?

Answer. Yes sir.

Question. And through your counsel you get people to go and speak against the bills?

Answer. Correct.

Question. Are the counsel also expected to talk with legislators outside of committee hearings?

Answer. Why, of course, I don't see why they should not.

Question. Well, I have not said that they should not. I am trying to find out if they do so. Are they paid with that expectation, Mr. Johnson?

Answer. Why they are paid to assist in every way possible.

Question. That is one of the ways of assisting, isn't it?

Answer. Of course, it is.

Question. And if they can get a friend of theirs in the legislature to oppose a measure there, they are expected to do that?

Answer. Of course they are.

Question. These men are not selected just because they are good lawyers?

Answer. They certainly are.

Question. Just for that and nothing else?

Answer. Absolutely.

Question. If one or more of them had a specially wide acquaintance in the legislature, wouldn't that be looked upon as an advantage?

Answer. It certainly would be.

Question. Do you think that it takes special legal skill to do this kind of work that is referred to in the legislature, or don't you undertake to select men that are popular with the legislators, and have a wide acquaintance in the legislature?

Answer. I should say that of course we employ men that have a wide acquaintance, yes, certainly; but they are honorable, and they have got to have good common sense.

Question. I won't say a word against that. But if they have friendships with legislators and acquaintance with legislators, use is expected to be made of that, isn't it?

Answer. Yes; Ralph Baker is one of the most honorable attorneys practicing before the bar. There isn't a man in the whole State known better before the legislature than Ralph Baker, but he is an honorable, upright, and highstanding attorney.

Question. These men, some of them, have been in the employ of this committee or utility companies in connection with legislative matters for years, haven't they?

Answer. Yes.

Question. That experience extends their acquaintance year by year, does it not?

Answer. It does.

Question. And their familiarity with what goes on in legislatures?

Answer. Yes.

Question. And with the committees?

Answer. Correct.

(B) RELATIONS WITH PRESS AND PROPAGANDA TACTICS

EXAMINATION OF MR. PAUL S. CLAPP, BY HON. ROBERT E.
HEALY, CHIEF COUNSEL^a

Question. Now the local companies, that is the managers of the local companies are expected and urged to cultivate friendly relations with the heads of the local newspapers, are they not?

Answer. They are encouraged to establish friendly relations with everyone in the community.

Question. Yes; but haven't we seen here, and haven't you heard since this discussion many specific instances where they were urged to cultivate friendly relations with the local newspapers?

Answer. Yes.

Question. It has been urged that one of the benefits to be derived from that was that the news columns and the editorial columns of the papers receiving the money would be more responsive to the views of the industry?

Answer. I have seen nothing of that kind.

Question. Well, you have heard it admitted here in the hearing room by witnesses on their oath, haven't you?

Answer. I have heard testimony given, yes.

Question. You have heard the effort that has been made to distribute publicity by each of the companies by envelope stuffers?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Surveys in text-books?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Contracts with educational institutions?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Moving pictures?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Radio broadcasting?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. And it is true that this organized effort has been designed to bring to the notice of every person in America from the eighth grade up the benefit of the utilities in these questions or on the questions in which the utilities are interested?

Answer. I would say in answer to that question that every means which is available for diffusing information with regard to electric light and power industry is being used and is to be used in increasing measure, and that part of the responsibility in the case is the diffusing of information by these companies where the business was carried on. We are responsible for the accuracy and authentic character of the information which we diffuse.

Question. And the information diffused also relates to matters somewhat political in their nature?

Answer. That is a matter of opinion.

^a No. 3, pp. 191-92.

Question. On the matter of Government operation, municipal ownership, does it not?

Answer. We can not define the exact dividing line on that.

Question. Without attempting to define the line hasn't there been a vast circulation in all the channels which I have indicated of Government operations and ownership of utility plants?

Answer. There has, but not in proportion to the relation of the total matter we get out, it is insignificant.

(C) RELATIONS WITH PRESS AND PROPAGANDA

EXAMINATION OF MR. JOE CARMICHAEL, BY HON. ROBERT E. HEALY, CHIEF COUNSEL *

Question. . . . Isn't it true that a good deal of the material that is printed in your bulletin is reproduced in the columns of the newspapers?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Is it true that a good deal of it is reproduced in the columns of those newspapers without anything to show that the material was furnished by your committee?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Have you undertaken to keep track of and report the same to your committee, how much of the stuff has been reproduced?

Answer. Yes.

Question. How many column-inches have been written as the result of your activities?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Is that true?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Do some of the views that are expressed from time to time in the bulletins become reflected or are they reproduced in the editorial columns of the Iowa newspapers?

Answer. They are.

Question. So you do influence public opinion in that way, by these bulletins?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. And the fellow that reads the newspaper does not know that you have anything to do with it, does he?

Answer. Not always. Sometimes they mention the source and sometimes they do not.

Question. That is propaganda, isn't it, Mr. Carmichael?

Answer. Yes.

Question. And these newspapers, whether wittingly or otherwise are helping you do it?

Answer. They are doing it wittingly, because they know very well where the information comes from.

* No. 4, p. 20.

APPENDIX 5

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

It is evident from the nature of this subject that it is impossible to compile a list of books that are directly connected with the representation of organized groups before Congress. There are few secondary sources that deal with the lobby at any length; but of books that deal with certain phases of the subject of this volume, there are many. Oblique references and concise discussions of the methods used in influencing legislation are found in general works on government, while more specialized studies are to be found that deal at greater length with the various groups and associations that have been taken up in this work. It may be best, then, to classify the pertinent books as they fall into certain fairly well defined divisions.

General Works on American Government. Some of the more recent text books and general discussions of the institutions of this country devote a chapter or more to the part played in politics and government by organized groups of voters. One of the best treatments is that of Edward M. Sait, "American Parties and Elections" (1927). The significance of these groups in the creation of public opinion is here recognized and the "national association" is seen in relation to the voter and the political party. "Political Science and Government," by James W. Garner, (1928), contains an interesting discussion of organized groups and their problem of representation. The footnotes are valuable. Associations of citizens and the lobby are discussed in "Principles and Problems of Government," by C. G. Haines and B. M. Haines (1926), and the correlation of these entities with other political phenomena is found in this general treatment of governmental institutions. References to the lobby are made in such general works as: "The American Commonwealth," by James Bryce, "Democracy and the Party System in the United States," by M. Ostrogorski, (1910); and "State Government in the United States," by Arthur N. Holcombe (1926).

Realistic Studies in Politics and Government. Among the first writers to describe the presence of the "interest-groups" in Washington were Frank R. Kent, "Great Game of Politics" (1926), and William Allen White, "Politics: The Citizens' Business" (1924). These books devote several chapters to the activities of associations of voters in regard to legislation and recognize the presence of this new lobby. "America Comes of Age," by Andre Siegfried (1927), contains an interesting section on this same subject which is well worth reading. A lucid analysis of "interest-groups" will be found in A. Gordon Dewey's "On Methods in the Study of Politics," in the *Political Science Quarterly*, XXXVIII, 636-51, XXXIX, 218-33 (1923-24). There is a chapter dealing directly with this subject in "Behind the Mirrors: The Psychology of Disintegration," by the author of "The Mirrors of Washington" (1922). For references to the lobby, see also "American Legislatures and Legislative Methods," by Paul S. Reinsch (1907). "Readings on American State Government" by the same author (1911), is likewise helpful on this point, especially the articles on the lobby by Robert M. LaFollette and by William E. Russell; also "Readings in Public Opinion," by W. B. Graves (1928).

Studies dealing with political parties refer from time to time to the activities of the lobbyist. The following are suggested: "An Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics," by P. Orman Ray (1913); "The History of Tammany Hall," by Gustavus Myers (1917); "The Political Parties of Today," by Arthur N. Holcombe (1925); "Political Behavior," by Frank R. Kent (1928); "Third Party Movements," by Fred E. Haynes (1916); and "Political Parties and Electoral Problems," by Robert C. Brooks (1923). This last volume contains an excellent bibliography, pp. 229-32, dealing with the party machine and the boss. While the lobby is not actually mentioned, light is thrown upon the activities of those who seek to influence legislation by devious ways. Professor Brooks lists documentary source material, general works, historical accounts, biographies, and fiction. Other works that may be mentioned in this connection are: "Corruption in American Politics and Life," by R. C. Brooks (1910); "The Taint in Politics; a study in the evolution of parliamentary corruption," by Joseph McCabe (1920); and "The Evolution of the Politician; a short study of the corrupter of politics, the enemy of

democracy," by Robert D. Bowden (1924). Dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs and suggestions for improvement in politics are set forth in such works as: "Popular Misgovernment in the United States," by Alfred B. Cruickshank (1920), and "Unpopular Government in the United States," by Albert M. Kales (1914). Other volumes on politics written in somewhat the same spirit are "The Process of Government," by A. F. Bentley (1908), "Government by all the People," by Delos F. Wilcox (1912); and "Politics," by Frank Exline (1922).

Since the relation between the lobbyist and the legislature is of such importance, books dealing with Congress and legislative procedure may profitably be consulted. The following have been found helpful: "History and Procedure of the House of Representatives," by DeAlva Stanwood Alexander (1916); "The Leadership of Congress," by George Rothwell Brown (1922); "The American Senate," by Lindsay Rogers (1926); "Party Government in the House of Representatives," by Paul Dewitt Hasbrouch (1927); "Congressional Government," by Woodrow Wilson (1885); and "Congressional Committees," by Lauros G. McConachie (1898).

Reminiscences and Biographies. Side lights are cast on the activities of the lobby in the biographies of certain public men and in the memoirs of observers. The biography, "Uncle Joe Cannon," by L. White Busbey (1927), is a good example of the former, while "Perley's Reminiscences," by Ben Perley Poore (1886), is one of the most useful of the second kind. References to the lobby are to be found in "Behind the Scenes in Washington," by Edward Winslow Martin (1873); "Reminiscences, 1819-1899," by Julia Ward Howe (1899); and "The Lobby and Public Men from Thurlow Weed's Time," by Hudson C. Tanner (1888). The practical working of politics is well exhibited in such books as: "Journal of Wm. Maclay 1789-1791;" "Boss Platt and His New York Machine," by Harold F. Gossnel (1924); "Marcus Alonzo Hanna, His Life and Work," by Herbert Croly (1912); "Thirty Years of New York Politics," by Matthew P. Breen (1899); the "Autobiography of Thomas Collier Platt" (1910); and "Drifting Sands of Party Politics," by Oscar W. Underwood (1928). One of the best chapters on the representation of organized groups is to be found in "Covering Washington;

government reflected to the public in the press, 1822-1926," by J. Frederick Essary (1927). The book is based in part upon the intimate personal knowledge of a veteran newspaper man.

Theoretical Works. There is a very considerable literature dealing with the place of the organized group in society and its relation to other groups and the government. The pluralists are prolific in books written to expound the views of their school. Attention is called to the following: "Das Deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht," by Dr. Otto Gierke (1913); Maitland's introduction to the translation of Gierke's "Political Theories of the Middle Ages" (1900); "Churches in the Modern State," by J. N. Figgis (1913); "Problems of Sovereignty" (1917), "Authority in the Modern State" (1919), and "Grammar of Politics" (1925), all three by Harold Laski; "Political Thought from Spencer to the Present Day," by Ernest Barker (1915); "Guild Socialism Restated," by G. D. H. Cole (1922); "Human Nature in Politics," by Graham Wallas (1921); "The Great Society," by the same author (1914); "Law in the Modern State," by Leon Duguit (1919); "The Modern State," by R. M. MacIver (1926); "The Modern Idea of the State," by Hugo Krabbe (1922); "Political Pluralism," by K. C. Hsiao (1928); and "Sovereignty; a study of a contemporary notion," by P. W. Ward (1928). Other references are to be found by consulting footnote 28 in Chapter XIV of this book.

A short statement of the monistic theory of the state is set forth by J. W. Burgess in his "Political Science and Constitutional Law," Vol. I, Book II, Chapters I-IV (1891), and by T. E. Holland in "The Elements of Jurisprudence" (1896). See also the interesting discussion, "The Conflict between Individualism and Collectivism in a Democracy," by Charles W. Eliot (1910).

Changes in the actual structure of government are advocated by some writers in view of the increasing importance of the special "interest-group" in the community. There is a feeling on the part of these writers that such groups should have representation in the councils of the government. See "A New Constitution for A New American," by William McDonald (1921); "The New State," by M. P. Follett (1918); "Democracy and Representation," by W. S. Carpenter (1925); "Le Crise de L'État Moderne," by Charles Benoist (1905); and "A Constitution for

the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain," by Sidney and Beatrice Webb (1920). Attention in passing may be called to "The Group Mind; a sketch of the principles of collective psychology, with some attempt to apply them to the interpretation of national life and character," by William McDougall (1920).

Economic and functional groups have won recognition by governments and have been incorporated within the new constitutions of European states. See "New Governments of Central Europe" (1924) and the "New Constitutions of Europe" (1922), by Malbone W. Graham; "Representative Government and a parliament of Industry; a study of the German Federal Economic Council," by Herman Finer (1923); and "Germany's Business Parliament," by Karl Friederich von Siemens, in *Current History*, September, 1924. J. W. Garner, in his "Political Science and Government" (1928), p. 655 ff., has a concise discussion of "Professional or Occupational Representation" that has valuable footnote references.

The best discussion of the changes that have taken place in political thought in recent years and of "the attack now taking formidable shape in practice as well as theory, over a great part of Europe, against the constitutional and democratic state," is to be found in "The Pragmatic Revolt in Politics," by W. Y. Elliott (1928).

Studies in Public Opinion. Since associations of voters play such an important part in the aligning of public opinion, and, in fact, for this very reason are responsible for much that becomes law, general works descriptive of the forces of opinion in society prove helpful in a discussion of organized groups. There is, of course, a huge number of books in this field; but the following are suggested as being of interest to the purpose of this study: "The Public and Its Problems," by John Dewey (1927); "The Public Mind; its disorders and its exploitation," by Norman Angell (1927); "Liberty and the News" (1920), "The Phantom Public" (1927), and "Public Opinion," all three by Walter Lippmann (1922); "Public Opinion and Popular Government," by A. Lawrence Lowell (1926); "Ballyhoo," by Silas Bent (1927); "Crystallizing Public Opinion," by Edward L. Bernays (1923); and "Propaganda Technique in the World War," by Harold D. Lasswell (1927).

Periodicals. Because of the popular interest in lobbying there have been numerous articles on this subject appearing in a wide variety of magazines from time to time. These accounts are often written by journalists, who speak from actual acquaintance with the situation described. In some cases the article is the word of a lobbyist, himself. Generally speaking, such articles, though presented in informal style, seem fairly and accurately to state the facts. Even where the statements may be questioned, still the point of view expressed is interesting as illustrative of the attitude of the press toward the unofficial participants in legislation. Of these the following (grouped by years) are suggested for reference:

Experiences in Lobby, *Continental Monthly*, 3: 688, June, 1863.
Existence of Lobby, by A. G. Sedgwick, *Nation*, 9: 64, 65, July 22, 1869.

Lobby in Politics, *New England Magazine*, 16: 151, April, 1897.
Evils of Lobbying and proposed Remedy, S. Maxwell, *American Law Review*, 30: 398, May-June, 1896.

Regulation of the Lobby, *Nation*, 71: 206-7, September, 13, 1900.
Third House, J. M. Bulkley, *Overland* (n. s.), 39: 903-7, May, 1902.

New Way of Treating Lobbyists, *Chautauquan*, 41: 12-3, March, 1905.

Lobbyist in the Niche, L. S. Mott, *Lippincott's*, 78: 766-76, December, 1906.

People's Lobby, *Independent*, 61: 671-62, September 27, 1906.

1907

First Lobby for the People, J. O. Hammitt, *Independent*, 62: 411-14, February 21.

Lobbyist for the People, H. Travis, *World's Work*, 15: 599-601, November.

People's Lobbyist, J. Lee, *Independent*, 62: 1203-06, May 23.

1908

President or Governor as Lobbyist, G. Bradford, *Nation*, 86: 422, May 7.

1912

Lobbyists by Wholesale, *Nation*, 95: 72, July 25.

1913

Attacking the Sugar Lobby, *Review of Reviews*, 48: 7-10, July.

Hunting the Insidious Lobbyist, *Literary Digest*, 47: 3-5, July 5.

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- Inquiries about Lobbyists, *Independent*, 75:69-70, July 10.
Invisible Government Under Searchlight, J. C. Laughlin, *Review of Reviews*, 48:334-8, September.
Lobby Abuses, *Nation*, 96:585, June 12.
Lobby Exposed, *Current Opinion*, 55:75, August.
Lobbying Scandal, *Outlook*, 104:542-43, July 12.
Money Behind the Gun, *Century*, 86:470-71, July.
My Adventures with the Sugar Lobby, C. S. Thomas, *World's Work*, 26:540-49, September.
Natural History of the Lobby, *Nation*, 97:26, July 10.
President's War on the Tariff Lobby, *Literary Digest*, 46:1257-58, June 7.
Smoking out the Invisible Government, *Literary Digest*, 47:43-45, July 12.
Sugar Lobby, *Outlook*, 104:353, June 21.
Tariff Lobby, *Independent*, 74:1224, June 5.
Wider Point of View, *Nation*, 96:612, June 19.

1914

- Mulhall Lobby Charges Upheld, *Literary Digest*, 48:742-43, April 4.

1916

- Armor Plate Lobby vs. Pork Barrel, *World's Work*, 31:244-5, January.

1920

- Special Interests, *New Style*, E. G. Lowry, *Saturday Evening Post*, 192:5, January 31.
Watchful Lobbies and Lobbyists that Camp in Washington, *Literary Digest*, 67:58-60, October 30.

1921

- If They Have Their Way, Herbert Quick, *Saturday Evening Post*, 193:21, May 21.
To Curb the Pestiferous Lobbyist, *Literary Digest*, 68:13, January 29.

1922

- Invisible Government Becoming Visible, *World's Work*, 43:464-65, March.
Social Lobby, C. A. Selden, *Ladies' Home Journal*, 39:12, June.
Third House of Congress, T. M. Knappen, *Century*, 103:869-76, April.

1923

Voces Populi, E. Murphy, Bookman, 58: 241-45, November.

1925

American Woman and Representative Government, G. M. Martin, Atlantic Monthly, 135: 363-71, March.

Are We a Menace?, E. M. Smith, Woman Citizen, (n. s.), 10: 15, June 13.

Washington Soviets, D. Wilhelm, Forum, 74: 743-51, November.
Women Replace Men as Lobbyists, Current Opinion, 78: 208, February.

Your Business in Washington: Lobbying, E. K. Stokes, Woman Citizen, (n. s.), 9: 7-8, February 21.

1926

Unofficial Representation at Washington, F. DeWitt Shelton, Independent, 116: 17-18, January 2.

Up Against the Social Lobby, Literary Digest, 88: 54-56, February 20.

1927

Back Stage in Washington, Independent, 118: 491-492, May 7.

Law-making by means of Dinners, Literary Digest, 94: 46-48, July 16.

Lobbying, M. W. Park, Woman Citizen, (n. s.), 11: 30-31, March.

1928

Business and the Government, John Flynn, Harper's Magazine, 156: 409-15, March.

Lobby Shop, W. Davenport, Collier's, 81: 8-9, May 26.

Lobbying in Washington, F. H. LaGuardia, Nation, 126: 586, May 26.

Million Dollar Power Interest's Lobby, Nation, 126: 554-5, May 16.

Third House, T. H. Caraway, Saturday Evening Post, 201: 21, July 7.

To Tame the Lobbyists, Literary Digest, 96: 11, March 17.

See also New York Times Index for references under "lobby."

Topical Works. This study, in dealing with the various organized groups of voters discussed, has been interested merely in a restricted and partial aspect of their activities; namely, their relations with the national government at Washington and more especially in their efforts to influence legislation. Consequently,

it may not be out of place to suggest a few books which give fuller accounts of these groups and discuss their purposes and their methods from different points of view. This list is not, of course, exhaustive, but it guides the way to other bibliographies and indicates some of the books which the present writer has found helpful.

On business, see:

Government and Business; a study in the economic aspects of government and the public aspects of business, Earl Willis Crecraft (1928).

This volume contains a full bibliography.

Big Business and Government, Charles Norman Fay (1912), and by the same author, Business in Politics (1927).

Concerning trade associations, see:

Employers' Associations in the United States, C. E. Bonnett (1922).

Gives good specific instances of influence on legislation.

A study of Business Men's Associations, F. S. Fitzpatrick (1925).

A comprehensive review of the organization of business, together with some interesting conclusions.

Trade Association Activities and the Law, F. D. Jones (1922).

Discussion of legal and economic aspects.

Trade Associations, E. H. Naylor (1921).

A handbook on organization and management.

National Trade Associations; a study by the National Association of Manufacturers (1922).

Contains answers to a questionnaire on association activities.

Trade Associations: their economic significance and legal status, National Industrial Conference Board (1925).

Trade Association Activities, Department of Commerce (1923). Same (1927).

Domestic Commerce Series No. 20. The appendix of this volume is given over to a discussion of the relations of the various governmental departments to the numerous trade associations. See also the extensive bibliography dealing with the various activities of these associations.

The American Federation of Labor and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States as Quasi-Governmental Agencies, Harwood Childs, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Chicago. Soon to appear.

For works dealing with organized labor and the government the following are recommended:

Labor in Politics, Charles Norman Fay (1920).

Written from the point of view of a reactionary.

Labor in Politics, Robert Hunter (1925).

Written from the point of view of a socialist.

Trade Unionism in the United States, Robert F. Hoxie (1924).

American Labor and American Democracy, William English Walling (1926).

History, Encyclopedia, Reference Book, American Federation of Labor (1919).

American Federationist, American Federation of Labor.

The activities of the farmer in relation to the national government are discussed in these books:

Uncle Reuben in Washington, Charles Barrett (1923).

Written by an arch-lobbyist in picturesque style.

The Agarian Crusade, S. J. Buck (1921).

The Agricultural Bloc, Arthur Capper (1922).

The Farm Bureau Movement, O. M. Kile (1921).

Agricultural Organizations in the United States, Edward Wiest (1923).

Farmers and Workers in American Politics, Stuart A. Rice (1924).

The American Farm Bureau Federation; a Pressure Group, by Raymond Leydig, Doctoral Dissertation, Columbia University. In preparation.

Organized women and politics are considered in:

Woman Suffrage and Politics, C. C. Catt and N. R. Shuler (1923).

History of Woman Suffrage, Ida Husted Harper (1902).

The Story of a Pioneer, Anna Howard Shaw (1915).

History of Woman Suffrage, E. C. Stanton and others (1881).

Jailed for Freedom, Doris Stevens (1920).

On the subject of government employees, useful information is to be found in these books:

The Federal Service: a study of the system of personnel administration of the United States Government, Lewis Mayers (1922).

Principles of Public Personnel Administration, Arthur W. Procter (1921).

The Labor Movement in a Government Industry—a study of employee organization in the Postal Service, Sterling Denhard Spero (1924).

Principles of Public Administration, W. F. Willoughby (1927).

It has not been possible to find a list of secondary works for every chapter dealing with various associations that are directly in line with the subject discussed. The following books, however, were found of interest in writing the chapters to which they pertain:

Professional Patriots, Norman Hapgood (1927).

This book casts aspersions on the patriots and their societies.

Reds in America, R. M. Whitney (1924).

This book casts aspersions on the socialists and the pacifists.

Federal Water Power Legislation, Jerome G. Kerwin (1926).

Giver's Guide to National Philanthropies, Bulletin.

Handbook of the Churches.

Handbook of Learned Societies and Institutions (1908).

Handbook of Social Movement.

Handbook of the Social Resources of the United States, American Red Cross (1921).

The Evolution of Prohibition in the United States of America, Ernest H. Cherrington (1920).

Prohibition: its economic and industrial aspects, Herman Feldman (1927).

Does Prohibition Work? Martha Bensley Bruere (1927).

Wayne Wheeler; Dry Boss, Justin Steuart (1928).

The Origins of Prohibition, John Allen Krout (1925).

This book contains a full bibliography and was originally prepared as a doctoral dissertation.

Pressure Politics, Peter Odegard (1928).

The latest and most complete study of the Anti-Saloon League.

For further information on special topics such as the above, the publications and especially the annual reports, the convention proceedings, the constitution and by-laws, and the periodical magazines of the national association that concerns itself with the particular subject involved are recommended.

Government Documents and Legal Digests.

United States Congress. House, Select Committee on lobby investigation. Charges against members of the House and lobby activities. 63 Congress, 2 session. House Report 113, 1913. 76 p.

——. House, Select Committee on lobby investigation. Charges against members of the House and lobby activities on the National Association of Manufactures. Hearings, 63 Congress, 1 session, September-December, 1913. 4 v.

——. House Judiciary Committee, 63 Congress, 2 session, House Report 570, 1914. 71 p.

——. Special Committee on ship purchase bill. Maintenance of a lobby to influence legislation. Report. 64 Congress, 1 session, Senate Report 25, 1916. 16 p.

——. Senate Committee of the Judiciary. Maintenance of lobby to influence legislation. Hearings, 63 Congress, 1 session, June 2-August 14, 1913. 4 v.

The Congressional Record on occasion contains reports of remarks on the lobby that have been found useful in this study. The references made to it are given in the footnotes of this volume, and it is not necessary to list them here.

These concluding references deal with some of the legal aspects of the lobby:

American digest; a complete digest of all reported American cases from the earliest times to 1896 . . . [Century ed.]. St. Paul.

"Lobbying services, or use of personal influence": v. 2, col. 571-73.

——. A complete digest of all reported cases from 1897-1906. [Decennial ed.] St. Paul, West pub. co., 1908-1912. 25 v.

See v. 2, Sec. 147, Client; v. 3, Sec. 10, Bribery; v. 5, Sec. 126, Contracts; and v. 18, Sec. 24, Statutes.

——. A complete digest of all reported cases from 1906-1916. [2d Decennial ed.] St. Paul, West publishing company, 1917-1922. 23 v.

See v. 5, Key number 126, Contracts; v. 21, Key number 46 (1), Towns.

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See Contracts, lobbying, bribery, etc.

Schaffner, Margaret A. Laws concerning the lobby in the United States. Government, December, 1907, v. 2: 183-96.

—— Lobbying. Madison, Wisconsin, Wisconsin free library commission, Legislative reference department, 1906. 31 p. (Wisconsin free library commission. Legislative reference department. Comparative legislation bulletin, No. 2).

Contents.—References: 3-4.—Kind of lobbying.—Rules, laws, and judicial decisions.—Remedies.

Steinhauer, Ernest P. Illegal contracts. (*In* Michie, T. J. ed. The encyclopedia of United States Supreme court reports. Charlottesville, Va., 1909. v. 6: 737-56).

"Contracts to procure legislation—Lobbying contracts": pp. 743-745.

Virginia. State library, Richmond. Legislative reference lists. . . . 1912. Richmond, Va., 1911. 70 p.

"Lobbying and legislative procedure": pp. 41-43.

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